1: Niederle--16 E-5 1911 E/6 Slavic Peoples E/6
Historical Russia RA2

H.R. 107 S.P. 175 scepter).

They have had religious unity for too long a period to permit anyone to hesitate considering them as a single whole, the Russian nation, despite the shades of difference already pointed out.

As for the matters which relate to external development, we must indicate the following stages:

H.R. 167 S.P. 175 167 The Russian nation did not succeed in extending itself to /17/ the west; between the space which it occupied and the sea Lithuanian tribes (Lettish) and, further to the south, the strong Polish race were concentrated. The Russians did not advance in that direction; very much to the contrary, their race underwent a very serious period of decline; in fact, it almost perished, on the one hand under the pressure of Lithuania, and on the other, under that of the Poles who were forced to stretch out towards the east, finding themselves pushed back by the Germans. This explains why on the maps of Bielenstien (1)

1. A German scholar of the nineteenth century who especially concerned himself with the Lett language.

the Russo-Lettish frontier of the thirteenth century is almost the same as today and why the western portion of Russian territory contains a large Polish element.

The expansion towards the north continued though with less success than formerly. The further one advanced into these regions, the less hospitable they became. But, beginning with the fifteenth century, especially from the reign of Peter the Great, the colonial expansion of the Russian element turned gradually toward the north, where colonies of monks and raskolnoki were sent out. (2) These colonies

2. Heretics (from raskol, schism). Translator.

were of slight importance and widely scattered. Then conditions changed. The expansion towards the north diminished, the movement turned towards the south and southeast.

The Tatar invasion had created a solid enclosing wall /18/ which Russian colonization was unable to cross so long as the Tatar Khanates were not brought under subjection. This was not long delayed. After 1486 Russia was freed from its bonds. The desire for revenge, the increase of the population, and other conditions, pushed the Russians very energetically towards the east, the southeast, and the south. They did not stop their advance. Their front line, which had been on the Oka, was replaced in the middle of the sixteenth century by the so-called Tula line, from Putivl' on the Seym through Briansk and Tula, towards the Una, tributary of the Moksha. In the first half of the seventeenth century the Muscovites occupied the Belgorod, Voronezh-Kozlov line,

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the Tambov-Simbirsk line, the line of the Transkama (Sengilei-Menzelinsk). On the other hand, they colonized the region of Poltava in great masses. (1) At the end of the seventeenth century the line of the Don was reached, then, under the reign of Empress Anne, the line of the Ukraine (1731-1735), which was replaced forty years later by the line of the Dnepr between the Dnepr and the Sea of Azov.

1. The Ukrainians of the region between the Bug and the Dnestr began in the fourteenth century, under the princes of Kiyev and of Lithuania to penetrate into the Poltava region. But it was not until the sixteenth century that, under the protection of Moscow, they emigrated en masse. In the seventeenth century they already occupied the governments of Kharkov, the western portion of the government of Voronezh and the southern part of the government of Koursk. This immigration is explained by the development of the Cossacks, the necessity of fleeing from Polish domination, and the diminution of the Tatar strength, especially that of the Horde of the Crimea.

T.R. 167 S.R. 175 167

/19/ The movement forward was completed by the conquest of the Khanate of the Crimea in 1783. Colonies of German and Serbian immigrants into Russia accompanied these advances of the military lines. The litoral of the Black Sea was partially colonized in the eighteenth century, and partially, --for example between the Bug and the Dnestr (the present Gubernia of Tavrida)--only in the nineteenth century. At about the same time Russian colonization reached the Caucasus (line of the Caucasus along the Kuban and the Terek from 1779 to 1799), but it was not completed until the second half of the nineteenth century after the complete submission of the Caucasus (1864).

The Russians penetrated earlier into the regions beyond the Volga, especially from the reign of Peter the Great onwards.

At this period they reached Samara and in the years 1734-1744 the Orenburg line. In the interior of Asia colonization was at first accomplished by the conquests of the brothers Stroganov and of Ermak (1558-1582), in Siberia as far as the Obi and Irtysh Rivers. It was completed in the nineteenth century by the conquest of all of Siberia as far as Sakhalin and Manchuria, by the subjugation of the Kirghiz Steppes to the south and finally of Turkestan (Tashkent, 1864, Samarkand 1868, Khiva 1873, Kokand 1876, Ashkabad 1881, Merv 1884, Murghab 1885). Everywhere the troops were followed by colonists, especially by the inhabitants of Great Russia.

S.P. T.R. 161 (illegitimate children). The death rate is 34 per 1,000. This is indeed a large number, but the number of births greatly surpasses it. The annual population increase is 1.5%, being about 2 million souls. The proportion is not the same in all the regions. Those in which the increase is the most considerable are New Russia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. Those in which it is the least are the Baltic region and the earea about Moscow. In European Russia--excluding Finland, Poland, and the Caucasus--the annual increase has been figured at 1.41%. In 1900, it rose as high as 1.83%.

S.P. T.R. 166 Emigration and immigration are for Russia phenomena of no importance. What is much more important is the movement of the population within the Empire. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century a strong centrifugal movement towards the south and east was to be observed. Very large masses, especially from southern Russia, /37/ were moving constantly towards New Russia, the regions beyond the Volga, the southern Ural, Siberia, Turkestan, etc. The emigration of Great Russians towards the south is of special interest from the viewpoint of the Ukrainian problem.

S.P. T.R. 167 Emigration to overseas countries has been carried on mainly through German ports. It is particularly directed towards America. To the present it has been of very slight importance, if one considers the immense size of the nation. However, it has been increasing constantly. From 1893 to 1902, it was at the rate of 30,000 persons per year during the first five year period, and of 45,000 per year during the last five years; in 1903, it exceeded 72,000 persons. The greatest number of them migrated to North America (94.3% in 1903). The others went to Argentina (the Parana), to Africa (beginning in 1903) and to Canada.

S.P. T.R. 212 The education of the people is still only slightly developed. If one excludes Poland and Finland, there are to be found only about 22.9% literate (32.6% men and 13.7% women). In Poland, the proportion is 30.5% (34.2% for men, 26.8% for women). More than 30% are found in the Finnish gubernıyas and especially in those which have large cities, Esthonia (79%), Livonia (77.5%), Kurland (70.9%), St. Petersburg (55.1%), Moscow (40.2%), Kovno (41.9%), Warsaw (39.1%), Suwalki (37.4%), Yaroslavl' (36.2%), /38/ Plock (33.5%), the Black Sea guberniya (31.2%), Siedlec (30%), Płotków (30.9%). In 24 gubernıyas the figure is less than 20% and even less than 15% in several others (those of Penza and of Pskov).

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5,820 Poles; they reported 26,795 of them in 1900, and at the latest elections for the Parliament of Berlin, the Polish candidate Chocszewski obtained 27,000 votes.

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Outside of Europe, Poles have gone especially to the United States (particularly to Chicago, Buffalo, Milwaukee, Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New York) and also to South America, particularly to Brazil (States of Parana, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande Do Sul, Sao Paulo), to Paraguay and to Argentina. In Brazil there are more than eighty colonies (80,000 souls). Parana is already called "New Poland."

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S 13. Statistics.--Just as it is impossible to define exactly the frontiers of the Polish nation, so the number of Poles cannot be determined with complete accuracy. Figures issued by national authorities differ considerably.

For the Kingdom of Poland itself Jean Bloch guesses at a population of a million and a quarter in the fourteenth century. For Bathory's century (16th) he estimates 3,058,000 Poles.

In 1882, Sulimierskii figured 12 million. E. Czynski in 1887, and A. Fircks in 1893 estimated 13 million. L. Straszewicz in 1900 figured from 18 to 19 million and in 1902 V. Czerkawski gave 21,111,347. But I do not consider his statistics as absolutely accurate and here are my estimates.

In the Russian Empire there were according to the census of 1897, 7,931,307 Poles, which is 8.3% of the total population. If we add to this figure the annual increase which, according to Kowalewski, is in the neighborhood of 1.5% per year, which would be 118,970 persons, we obtain for the end of the year 1900:

For the Russian Empire (with Asia), about	8,400,000
For Austria	4,259,150
For Germany (including the Mazuri and the Kashub)	3,450,200 (1)
For the rest of Europe (according to Czerkawski), about	55,000
For America (according to Czerkawski)	1,500,000
	17,664,350 (2)

161 German, one arrives at the figure of 116,810 individuals, and, if this figure is corrected according to the estimates of Parczewski, of Swjela*, and of Muka, about 156,000 persons are obtained, a lamentable total for a people surrounded and penetrated from all sides by the German [177] flood. What favors Germanization is the extent to which the Sorbs are economically dependent upon the Germans: the military service, preaching in German, the absence of an intellectual class, their complete isolation. The Sorbs who resist most energetically are those of Upper Lusatia, whose intellectual center is at Bautzen (Budysin). In Saxony, of 297 communes called Wends (1), according to the census of 1900, there are in all 225 with a Slav majority, and only 7 entirely Slav.

1. The Sorbs of Lusatia are called Wends in German.

•167 We have no other data on the Lusatians or on their emigration. It appears that there are colonies in America (especially in Texas--Serbin (a town), which recalls the name of the nation, Giddingswenden (probably the town of Giddings), West (perhaps the town of West Point) Yewa (not located), Warda (a town), Burleson (a county) whose inhabitants left Europe towards the middle of the last century, and who still preserve the national tradition. There are also some in Australia (at Angerspark, at Adelaide near Melbourne). They are of more recent origin.

715 The great majority of the Sorbs are Lutherans; there are 15,000
162 Catholics, who live for the most part in the neighborhood of Budysin (Bautzen).

197 /98/ S 19. Differentiation.--Even though they are only a small
182 nation, the Sorbs are not unified from the linguistic point of view. The difference between the idioms of Upper and Lower Lusatia is so great that the common people have great difficulty in understanding one another and many linguists have recognized two distinct languages. There are in fact two literary languages founded upon the two dialects which are farthest apart (that of Kottbus and that of Bautzen) and two literatures. This duality creates a grave danger, the much more so as the two fractions are divided from a political viewpoint. Kottbus belongs to Prussia and Bautzen to Saxony. Aside from the language, the
101 two Lusatian groups differ from many viewpoints in matters of domestic
182 life and costume. According to Muka, the boundary between the two

1: Niederle--65 E-5 1911 EK Slavic Peoples E/C
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S.P. c. 174 101 and in Moravia, at the beginning of history. However, it appears very likely that the different groups which are still met with today, the Czechs properly speaking, the Hanaks, the Lahs, the Slovaks, and the Valachs existed in those days. But we do not know where the frontier between the Czechs and the Slovaks was located: was it on the lower and middle Morava, as Safarik would have it, or farther to the east?

We know more about the Czechs. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, we see leaving the forest bordering Germany, a whole series of tribes that appear among them: to the north from the sources of the Oharka, proceeding towards the east, the Sedlicany, the Lucany, the Lemuze, the Deczany, the Litomerice, the Psovany, the Charvaty (Czechs?); in the center, the Czechs; near them the Zliczany; and to the south in the area of Budejovice (Budweiss), the Dudlebi.

Very soon the Czechs became the most numerous and strongest of all of these tribes /103/; thanks to their central location, they soon dominated the other tribes and fused them into a single people. From the ninth century their name was used to designate the entire aggregation of tribes.

S.P. c. 175 Thus this nation was formed. Settled in the watershed between the streams flowing to the north and those flowing to the south, near the source of the large rivers, protected by natural walls, it developed under excellent conditions. And, were it not for the errors of its princes, who through egoism caused serious damage to its prosperity and to its future, the history of this nation would have been entirely different from what it has been, and would occupy today a different position in the Slavic world from that which it now occupies.

S.P. c. 175 167 What caused it a terrible blow was the German colonization in Bohemia and Moravia. In the south, the Germans, pushing forward along the Danube towards the east, thrust back the Czecho-Slovaks who were settled in this region. This was a completely natural movement and one which should not have caused any great harm to the development of the Czech national group, seeing that the Germans would soon come into collision with the Magyars on the Litava (Leitha).

What was particularly harmful to the Czechs was the German colonization summoned into the country by the national princes of the Premysls dynasty, Premysl Otakar I (1197-1230), Vaclav I (1230-1253)

H[Czechoslovakia — Analysis]

1: Niederle--66 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples E16 Czechoslovakia EB1

S.P. C. 175 167 and especially Premysl Otakar II (1253-1278) and their successors; the nobility and the clergy, /104/ particularly the monks, followed their example. As a result of this colonization, the Czech element found itself blockaded in the interior of the country by a belt of German cities and towns, a belt which continually drew tighter; at first below the Metallic Mountains and the Boehmerwald, then on the lower Elbe, then in the areas of Liberec (Reichenberg), Trutnov, Kladsko (Glatz) and in the region of the Jeseniky (Gesenke) Mountains. Moreover, German groups settled in the interior of the country. From the thirteenth century Bohemia and Moravia became bilingual countries.

S.P. C. [191]

From the standpoint of area the German zone was neither wide nor compact; it formed itself especially in the clearings of the forests on the west and northwest.

S.P. C. 101 563

In the fourteenth century, according to Professor Sedlaczek, the frontier of the nations in Bohemia ran from Kynwart* toward Zdar*, Kralupy, Chomutov (Komotau) which was German, toward Most, then toward Duchcov and Decin. Bilina and Teplice were still Czech. Then the frontier ran to Benesov* which was German, to Jablonna*, crossed Mount Iestied* and reached the sources of the Jizera (Iser). From the fourteenth century Liberec (in German, Reichenberg) was German. The Germans were settled in the mountains beyond Vrchlaby* (today Hohenelbe) which was still Czech. Pilnikov (Pillnitz), Trutnow, Zacler, Stare Buky* were already German. Starkov* remained Czech, but the region of Brumov*, and the country of Kladsko /105/were Germanized. Olesnica and Rokytnice* were Czech. Beyond Policzka* and Litomysl* the situation was as it is today. At Nemecky Brod there was a German island; Jindrichuv Hradec was mixed, as well as Budejovice (Budweiss). Krumlov and Prachatice were mixed; the Kasperk Mountains were German; in the region of Domazlice the frontier was Czech. Klatovy was mixed, Tachov German.

S.P. C. 175 167 S.P. [565]

Less is known about the German penetration into Moravia and into Silesia. From the thirteenth century the greater part of the fortified towns in Moravia have been German. In many of the cities, notably at Brno and at Olomouc, from the thirteenth century on a German bourgeoisie developed. The religious orders and the clergy contributed in summoning the Germans, especially Bishop Bruno who has been called the greatest Germanizer of Moravia. In the Teschen area the Czecho-Polish frontier has been the same from the fourteenth century

1: Niederle--67 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples E16
Czechoslovakia EB1

S.P.
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to the present.

Slovakia, belonging to Hungary, was not spared by the German invasion. Germanization began to penetrate into the northern portion--perhaps Slovak--the Pannonia, beginning in the ninth century, as is attested by a celebrated text of 850: Conversio Bagoiarorum et Carantanorum. In the north of Hungary, from the twelfth century, the regents during the minority of Geza II (1141-1161) called a great number of Germans into the county of Spis to act as /106/ a counter-weight to the attraction which Poland was exerting upon the county of Zvolen. Following the example of these first colonists, the Germans, beginning in the thirteenth century, penetrated from the west into the counties of Bratislava and of Nitra, from the south into those of Bars and of Honta where they were not to be found before this period. This immigration increased particularly after the Tatar invasion of 1241. Hungary had been ravaged, and the kings,--notably Bela IV--called for new colonists. Thus, towards the end of the fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth century, there was in Slovak territory no commune in which some German family was not established. The center and the base of German colonies aside from the towns of Spiess, was the association of mining towns with Kremnitz at their head. The sources mention in the first place Krupina, in 1238, then Banska Bystrica in 1255, and Nemecke Pravno in 1267. This state of things lasted until the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Two laws promulgated by the Diet in 1563 and in 1605 put an end to the privileges of the German towns and to the Germanic intrusion. Beginning with this period the Germans in the north of Hungary were Slovakized or Magyarized in turn. (Among the towns which again became Slovak may be cited Pukanec*, Nova Bana, Bela, Lubietova* and, to a considerable extent, Stiavnica and Banska Bystrica).

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Alongside the penetration of the frontier regions /107/ in Bohemia and Moldavia there should be pointed out, the influence beginning with the thirteenth century, of the German element upon the internal economy of the country, the customs, and the language. German almost assumed the role of an official language. German inhabitants received privileges. At court, among the nobility, in the towns, the German tongue played so important a role that some patriots, like Dalimil, (1) began to fear the ruin of the Bohemian language.

1: Niederle--68 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
Czechoslovakia E81

S.P. C. 175 177 191

1. Quite a long time ago I indicated the importance of this chronicler. See my Boheme pittoresque et historique (Paris, 1867).

At the beginning of the fourteenth century matters had gone so far that at the coronation of King John in 1311 the larger part of the people sang in German and the minority in Czech.

S.P. C. 175 668 [798]

Under Charles IV and his son Vaclav a reaction took place to the benefit of the Slavic element. The nobility and the clergy took an interest in this. This evolution was crowned by the wars of the Hussites, who fought at the same time for Czech faith and Czech nationality. The Germans lost their influence in the towns or were completely driven out; the Czech language reassumed its place. Among the towns which became Slavic may be cited Zatec (Saaz), Litomerice (Leitmeritz), Usti nad Labem (Aussig), Dvur Kralove, Jaromer, Hradec Kralove, Nemecky Brod, Caslav, Kutna Hora, Pelhrimov, Susice, Budejovice, Kaplice, Stribro and Plzen, all of which were already Czech at the end of the fourteenth century.

/108/ At this time, in Bohemia, in Moravia, in Siberia, Czech became an official language. It was proclaimed to be the sole administrative language at Opava (Troppau) in 1431, at Tesin (Teschen) in 1434, in Moravia in 1480, in Bohemia in 1495. In short, in the course of the fifteenth century Bohemia and Moravia rapidly became Czech, the national consciousness grew stronger, all the more because germanization became weaker within the country and in the frontier districts. Nevertheless, this very brilliant period had no enduring results. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a portion of Czech territory was again germanized as a result of the introduction of Protestantism and through the efforts of the new dynasty. Then came a long period of wars and persecutions which desolated entire regions and was followed by the new influx of German colonists from Misnie, Voigtland*, from Franconia and from the Palatinate. Thus, at the very moment when the Czech language became official within the kingdom, when the Czech literature was flourishing, a great section of Czech soil was lost.

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S.P. C. [728]

Then came the defeat of Bila Hora (1620) and the unhappy events which placed the Czech nation in the hands of a dynasty which was German and absolutist. In 1627 a new organization was imposed

1/ [Against the influence of the German element upon the country - Analyst]

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upon the country; German acquired an importance which it never had before. Bohemia found herself engaged in a series of wars, of miseries, of sufferings which diminished to the /109/ lowest degree the numbers and the energy of the Czech nation and rendered it a prey to the immigrants whose number increased each day. Many families which were faithfully preserving the national tradition emigrated, many perished, many changed their nationality. Immense domains were confiscated and passed into the hands of foreigners. Many of the most distinguished German Protestant families also left the country.

Thus, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the German population increased and the Germanic belt which surrounded Bohemia became wider. At this moment the Czechs lost in the north the regions of Zlutice (Luditz), of Zatec (Saaz), where, however, the Czech tongue resisted until the end of the seventeenth century, then that of Postoloptry (1) (Postelberg), Teplice (Teplitz), Usti (Aussig), Bilina,

1. This name simply comes from the Latin "Apostolorum Porta." Translator.

Lovosice (Lobositz), (Litomerice was not germanized until the eighteenth century), Ceska Duba, Steti, Mimon, Vartemberk*. To the northeast they lost the districts of Rokytnice, Vrchlaby, Hostinne; to the west, those of Primda, Hostoun, Pobezovice (Ronsperg), Horsova Tyna*, Straze*, Bor, Plane*, as far as Manetin. The German area, as it was described in the years 1699-1701 by the Czech pilgrim Antonin Frozin, is practically identical with the German area of today. According to the studies of Slavik, as much may be said for /109/ Moravia at the end of the seventeenth century. In the last two hundred and fifty years, however, there have been some modifications in northern Moravia. The towns of Usov*, Unczov*, Zabreh and Stity (Silperk) have been germanized.

On the other hand, the national language, and with it the national consciousness of the Czechs, disappeared more and more under the governmental pressure. The nobility, the intellectual class, the bourgeoisie gave in one by one. In the eighteenth century the patriots despaired compaired completely of the future.

In 1790 Pelcel said that in fifty years it would be difficult to find a Czech; in 1810 Dobrovsky wrote to Kopitar the famous letter: "Causa gentis nostrae, nisi Deus adjuvet, plane desperata est". /"The cause of our country is, unless God helps, quite hopeless"/. And

1: Niederle--70 E-5 1911 ER Slavic Peoples E16
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again in 1827 Jungmann in a moment of discouragement gave vent to this sad cry: "We have had the sad fate of being the witnesses and the accessories of the final annihilation of our mother tongue."

S.P. C 175 448 517

Nevertheless, certain men succeeded in awakening the nation, in saving what might be saved. The history of the Czech literature since the second half of the eighteenth century shows us in an admirable fashion the work which a little group of men, obscure but impassioned, taken with a great idea, have been able to accomplish.

Aroused by the progress of liberalism in Europe, by the "Josephinism," they succeeded in reviving an interest in national affairs, in shaking the people out of their torpor, at first among the lowly ones who had preserved the language, then in the intellectual class. This Czech people, whose existence appeared doubtful one hundred years ago, of whom the Viennese educator Kindermann von Schulstein, basing himself upon the new scholastic program, had proclaimed the approaching disappearance, this Czech people, is today conscious of itself, it forms a compact mass of six and one-half million persons and constitutes an impregnable citadel against which the powerless efforts of the germanism bent upon the ruin of the Slavs come and break. There is only one thing to regret and that is that political conditions have prevented the union and assimilation of the two million Slovaks settled in northern Hungary.

S.P. C 101

S 21. National Frontiers.--The compact mass of the Czechs and Slovaks are distributed among six administrative regions: in Austria, in the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Margraviate of Moravia, and the Duchy of Silesia, in Hungary, and, for a few segments, in Prussian Silesia.

The ethnographic boundary which separates the Slovaks from the other Czechs runs across Moravia; but the Slovaks of Moravia are so closely associated with the life of the Czech nation and are drawing so much closer to them each day that one may /112/ consider as the true boundary the political frontier which separates Moravia from Hungary. There, in the Carpathians, a wall stands which separates the two groups, Czechs and Slovaks, and unless unforeseen circumstances intervene, it is to be feared that their former unity will wind up in a dualism: Czechs on the one side, Slovaks on the other.

Thanks to a series of ethnographic studies, and also to the acute

1: Niederle--76 E-5 1911 EM Slavic Peoples E16
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Serbo-Croat.	3.03	2.92	2.59	2.75	2.78	%
Slavs	57.18	57.73	59.25	60.15	60.44	%
Germans.	36.12	34.71	36.75	36.95	35.78	%

(all the figures above are in percentages)

/Footnote continued from preceding page/
In Transleithania, including Croatia, M. Zivansky notes the following figures:

	1851	1880	1890	1900	
Magyars	36.5	41.2	42.8	45.4	%
Serbo-Croats.	16.4	15.0	15.1	14.2	%
Slovaks	13.2	12.0	11.0	10.5	%
Russians.	3.4	2.3	2.2	2.2	%
Romanians	17.0	15.4	14.9	14.5	%
Germans	10.3	12.5	12.1	11.1	%

Here it is the Slavs and Germans who are decreasing.

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Likewise, among the Slovaks, according to the official statistics, the birth rate is not so good as it is thought to be. The birth rate among the Magyars is higher than among them; and marriages are more numerous on the plain than among the poor Slovak mountaineers.

Here the birth rate depends upon well-being. On the contrary, and for the same reason, the death rate is very high among the Slovaks. In short, according to the information gathered by E. Stodola, the /121/ population increase in 1900 was in comparison with the census of 1869, that is in thirty years, among the Slovaks only 20% and among the Magyars 34%. And furthermore the population increase among the Slovaks is diminished by emigration.

S.P. C. 167

Emigration is equally fatal to the Czechs and to the Slovaks. Among the Czechs, as a result of economic conditions, it is directed toward German industrial cities, especially toward Vienna, where, naturally, they easily lose their nationality. The movement

S.P. C. 159 of immigration of Germans among the Czechs is practically insignificant. On the contrary, in these ten last years 70,000 to 90,000 Slavs have left Bohemia. Formerly it was above all emigration to America which S.P. C. 159 161 weakened the Czechs. Today this movement has slowed down, but it is rather considerable among the Slovaks and it suffices to explain to us the very minor increase of the population group which in 1851 constituted 13% of the total population of Transleithania, in 1886, 12%, in 1890, 11%, and in 1900 only 10.5%. In these last thirty years, according to Stodola, there have emigrated from the 12 Slovak counties 307,000 persons--especially into America. Now, from 1850 to 1900, the total increase of the Magyars was 80%; these figures include, it is true, 25% other nationalities more or less Magyarized, which would make 1.6% a year; the increase /122/ of Slovaks has been only 0.66% a year.

S.P. C. 212 From the point of view of popular education and the restricted number of illiterates, the Czech national group holds the first rank among the Slav peoples. The Czechs are even superior to the Germans of Austria; for, according to the official statistics, there are in Bohemia 93.77% who know how to read and write, 91.84% among the Germans, 68.53% among the Slovenes, 47.52% among the Poles, and 21.87% among the Russians and Ruthenians.

In Hungary, in the purely Slovak counties, the number of illiterates is 32%; in the counties of the center where there are mixtures of Magyars and Russians, it is 42%.

S.P. C. 162 In the matter of professions, 43.1% of the Czechs devote themselves to agriculture, 36.5% to industry, 9.3% to commerce and the transportation business, 11.1% to public services. From the industrial viewpoint, only the Germans surpass the Czechs by two percentage points (38.5%); from the point of view of agriculture, the Czechs come after the Poles (65%), the Slovenes (75%), the Serbo-Croats 89%, and the Russians of Galicia (63%).

S.P. C. 75 162 In the matter of religion, the Czechs are for the most part Catholics (96.15%). It is figured that there are 2.4% Protestants. Among the Slovaks of Hungary the proportions are no longer the same There are figured to be 70.2% /123/ Catholics, 5% uniates, 23% Protestants of the Augsburg confession.

1: Niederle--91 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples E/6 Slovenes E/7

S.P. Sl. 168 181 ●167 In the matter of the birth rate, during these latter years it has been very low in Carniola: between 1890 and 1900, 1.84%; the birth-rate for Austria taken all together is 9.44%. Between 1880 and 1890 the coefficient was 9.44%. For all of the Slovenes taken together the coefficient is only 1.37%.

Therefore, the development of the nation appears to be arrested. This phenomenon is due in part to denationalization, in part to emigration, and in part to inexact census figures.

S.P. Sl. 162 [795] From the religious viewpoint the Slovenes are almost entirely Catholics (99.9%). In respect to occupations, 75.4% devote themselves to farming, 13.4% to industry, 3.5% to trade, and 7.7% to public services.

S.P. Sl. 197 101 S 28. Differentiation.--From a linguistic viewpoint there are rather numerous differences; but they are not very deep (see what is said further along regarding the dialectology of the southern Slavs). To designate the various groups within the nation, the Slovenes usually give themselves geographic names, borrowed from their political boundaries: Kranjci (Carniolians), Primorci /145/ (people of the seacoast), Korosci (Carinthians), Goricani (Goricians), Styrians, or names of an even more local character, borrowed from the orography and the hydrography. In Styria there are singled out the Pohorianci, the Polianci of the Mura and of the Drava, the Halozanes, in Carniola the Gorenici (people from above), Dolenici (people from below), and the Notranjci who speak different dialects. To the north of the Mura, the Prekmurci (Transmurians) present an interesting type. In the northwest of Istria the Savrini or Bresavi are also pure-blooded Slovenes, as are the Berkini in the north of Istria. On the contrary the Fucki in the outskirts of the town of Buzet (Pinguente) and the Cici are Croats of the kaikavski and cakavski dialects. (1) Likewise, the White

1. Although certain philologists attach the Kaikavci of Croatia to the Slovenes, we relegate them to the next chapter; they consider themselves to be Croats.

Krainici--so called from their costume--who are settled between Kocevje and the Kupa River are also of the kaikavski dialect.

A very interesting group, particularly studied by Professor Beaudoin de Courtenay (2), is the group of Resians established in the

000 only upon the internal situation of the two sections originally unified, but also upon their mutual relations.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 668 191 There indeed developed between 1830 and 1840 a movement called Illyrian, which sought to unite them, but it had no other results than to unify the literary language for which the dialect called stokavski was adopted. But from the political viewpoint, each of the two sections, despite the original unity of their language, differentiated only by dialectical shadings, followed its own course.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 175 ● 167 [361] Their development has been particularly hindered by exterior circumstances. At first there were the Turkish invasions and the servitude which followed them. Many of the groups emigrated from their ancient homes to seek a more certain asylum. At the outset, Serbian colonization went upstream on the Morava, towards the south. The first centers, the first /152/ capitals were Novi Pazar, Pristina, Prizren, and Skoplje.

But the arrival of the Turks completely displaced the movement. Beginning with the sixteenth century, the Croats went back towards the north, and the Serbs did so even more. To escape from the Turkish oppression, Croat colonies were established in Hungary, in the region situated between the middle reaches of the Raab, the lake of Ferto-Tava (Neusiedler Lake), Bratislava and Vienna. Some even pushed as far as into Moravia and the interior of Hungary.

S.P. Sb. 175 167 These migrations greatly modified the type of the primitive Serbian population. From the regions which formerly had been the home and center of the nation, from Kosovo Polje, from Old Serbia, hundreds of thousands of men came forth to establish themselves in the relatively peaceful regions of Austria-Hungary.

This movement began at the end of the fourteenth century, after the battle of Kosovo (1389) and the conquest of Skoplje by the Turks (1391), after which the Turks began to march towards the region of Lom, Bosnia, and the country of Khum, and finally towards the north. The Serbs then had to withdraw towards the Danube and move their Sb [682] center towards Krusevac and finally towards Smederevo (Semendria). In 1459, the Turks definitely abolished Serbia, and in 1463, Bosnia. The Serbs then began to cross in great masses to the other side of the

[i.e. Serbs and Croats -- Ans'g.]

Danube and of the Sava. Towards 1481, 50,000 of them emigrated /153/ form the region of Krusevac, and these migrations were repeated several times from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, especially after the defeat of the Turks before Vienna, in 1683, and after the treaty of Karlovci (Karlowitz) in 1699, as a result of which the Turks were compelled definitely to give up Hungary and Transylvania. The Serb colonization was favorably regarded by Austria, and the Court of Vienna did not hesitate to promise liberties and privileges, of which only very few were later realized. Also, on numerous occasions, notably in 1750 and 1752, the Serbs left the Austrian State and went to settle in Russia, in New Serbia, of which we shall speak later on.[1]

From the outset of the fifteenth century, we find Serb colonies in the island of Czeplo, then later in Srem (Syrmien), Backa (Baczka), the country of Torontal and of Timisoara (Temesvar). The great migration into these countries took place in 1690, under the leadership of Arseniye III Tsmoievitch, patriarch of Ipek (Petch), who led, it is said, 80,000 persons; another took place in 1737 under the leadership of Arseniye Iovanovitch. In Styria, there were Serb colonies near Ptuj from the sixteenth century. The original Slavic domain of ancient Serbia was depopulated to such an extent that it was occupied by Albanian refugees; we can testify even today to the existence of this Albanian wedge which becomes sharper every day, which penetrates into the very heart of ancient Serbia, as far as Kosovo Polje, and which thrusts its point as far as the present kingdom. /154/ Today the region of Kosovo Polje is called Arnautluk (the country of the Arnaut or Albanians) and, according to the information furnished by Nusic, there are very few villages which do not contain Albanians, and there are some which have no Serbs at all, even though they bear Serbian names. Three quarter of the population is made up of Albanianized Serbs. A few years ago the Albanians were even settled in the Principality of Serbia, on the Toplica, Jablanica, and Morava Rivers; they left after the war of 1878 and the region has again been occupied by the Serbs. In 1900 only 2,151 Albanians were counted in Serbia, almost all of them in the district of Vranie, where 205,000 Serbs are found alongside them.

This withdrawal of the Serb national group toward the north was the result of the Turkish wars, and it is only during the past few

[1] [cf. Cat. 116, p.101 -- Anchyst]

1: Niederle--97 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples
Serbs EF6
Croats EF4

years that Serbia has recognised how much she has lost and how little she has gained: for the region of Novi Pasar and of Kosovo is the keystone of her future. The Albanian question is a vital question to Serbia. S.P. S.A. 167 175 000

Furthermore, in the Serbian section of the Balkan peninsula, there have been many internal migrations between the different regions, migrations which recently have been studied by Mr. Cvijic. In these movements Serbia played a passive role; an active role was played by Hercegovina, by Montenegro, and by a portion of Macedonia. S.P S.B. 166

/155/ If the Serbs in the southwest withdrew before the Albanians, in the northeast they withdrew before the Rumanians. This is what is found not only in the Hungarian Banat, where a great number of Rumanian villages bear Serb names, but also in the Kingdom of Serbia where, at a bend of the Danube, between Milonovac and Zajecar, the Rumanians have penetrated in compact masses and where the Serbs have been unable to absorb them. It even appears, according to Mr. Resetar, that they are increasing in numbers, even though the official statistics try to diminish their number. For 1900, 89, 873 of them[1] were enumerated; but there were also 32, 556 bilingual persons speaking Serbian. To compensate for these losses, one may point out the success of the Serbo-Croat national group in Dalmatia, where the sea-coast which previously was Roman, is rapidly becoming Slavisized. This Slavisation did not take place immediately upon the arrival of the Slavs in Roman Dalmatia, but was the result of a long process which in part Slavisized the Romans and in part forced them to migrate. It was only in the Seventeenth Century that the Romans disappeared,[2] and a few vestiges of their former tongue remained as a sort of slang in the island of Krk (Veglia) until the end of the nineteenth century. S.P. S.A. 167 S.B. 563 S.B. [191] S.B 167 S.B. c. [197]

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Split (Spalato) and Dubrovnik (Ragusa) were already Slavic. At the time of the Turkish invasions the Adriatic seacoast was first depopulated, then colonized again. From the neighborhood of Zadar (Zara) Slav colonies crossed into southern Italy /156/ where their descendants can still be found today. We shall speak of them in a short while. S.P. c.r. S.B. 175 167

On the western frontier of Serbia between the Morava, the Timok, and the Pirot, there was for a long time a transitional zone S.P. S.B

[1] [Rumanians in the Kingdom of Serbia--Analyst] 563

[2] [Along the Dalmation coast--Analyst] 167

S.P. Sb. 3 167

between Serb territory and Bulgar territory. The nationality of the inhabitants of this region has been for a long time a matter of controversy. But since the Serbs have occupied it and have brought to it their civilization, it can no longer be differentiated from the Serbian group. According to Mr. O. Brosh, an analogous phenomenon occurred in the south, in the section of Serbian territory called Old Serbia.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 101

S 30. Territorial Boundaries.--

The Serbo-Croats are divided today among several states. The Croats belong entirely to Austria-Hungary. In fact, they occupy the Slavic section of Istria and of the seacoast, a section of Dalmatia and of Bosnia, all of Croatia and Slavonia, with the exception of Srem (Syrmien), and are scattered besides in western Hungary. The Serbs have their principal nucleus in the Balkan peninsula. They are settled in the independent kingdom, in Bosnia-Hercegovina annexed to Austria, and in a section of Dalmatia, in the independent principality of Montenegro, in the northern sections of the Turkish vilayets of Scutari (Skadar) and of Skoplje, in the north of Slavonia, and they /157/ form sizeable islands in South Hungary.

Because of the great size of the area over which they are scattered, their boundary is poorly defined and it is difficult to trace its outline. It is still more difficult to trace the boundary which separates the Serbs from the Croats. This is how one could mark it approximately: It starts out at the little stream of Dragonja and from the Croat town of Buzet (Pinguente), where the Croats of the two dialects kaikavski and cakavski meet the Slovenes and the Italians; then the border runs down to the south and passes into Istria through Beram (Vermo), Vodnjan (Dignano), and reaches Pula (Pola), then it follows the seashore of the Adriatic as far as the Bojana, which runs into the lake of Skadar (Scutari). Certain cities, Rijeka (Fiume), Zadar (Zara) are in great measure inhabited by the Italians. On the other hand, Sibenik, Trogir (Trau), Split (Spalato) are Slav. However, there are in the Kvarner (Quarnero) Islands some Italian localities.

S.P. Cr. [197]

S.P. Sb. 101

From the Bojana the line which separates the Serbs from the Albanians runs through the middle of the lake of Skadar (Scutari) and passes to the south of the frontier of Montenegro through Sutorman, Vila, Gusinje, Plav, near Pec /Ipek/, then below Djakovica, Prizren, it reaches Mount Chardagh and Mount Karadagh and comes to Vranje

S.P. Cr. 16 101 more, and also in Macedonia. Regarding this province, we are unable, because of the contradictory character of our information and of the brevity of this book, to furnish detailed data. Some Serbs live in the regions of Tetovo, of Kumanovo, of Skoplje.

S.P. Cr. 16 101 167 Aside from the Serb and Croat groups which /161/ may live in the principal cities of Europe, there are also colonies in Italy, in Russia, and in America.

S.P. Cr. 101 167 In Italy, as a result of the Turkish invasions, Croats settled in the Udine area where they became mixed with the Slovenes (see Section 28), and also in the Abruzzi. There they still exist today in the district of Molise and in the province of Campobasso where there are still three villages today: Acqua Viva Colla Croce (Cruc), San Felice Slavo, Montemitro (Mundimitar). There are about 5,000 persons. Italian statistics do not count individuals, but families. The three communes which we have just named are the remains of a large Slavic area which stretched as far as the province of Chieti. These Croats are the descendants of the emigrants who came in the sixteenth century from the seacoast of Dalmatia, between Makarska and the Naretva (Narenta).

S.P. Sb. 101 167 Between the years 1750 and 1752, a great number of Serbs, discontented with the behavior of the Austrian government, migrated to Russia. They settled in the northern section of the gubernia of Kherson, in the districts of Yelizavetgrad (now Kirovograd) and of Alexandrovo, and the city of Yelizavetgrad was their principal stronghold. Founded in 1756, it was at first called Fort Saint Elisabeth. The region was named New Serbia. In the northeast of the guberniya of Ekaterinoslav, another area was called Slaviano-Serbia. It was located between the northern Don, the /162/ Bakhmut (now Artemovsk), and the Lugan. But these Serbs, whose religion was the same as that of the Russians, were completely Russianized and were not reported separately in the Russian statistics. In 1842 Safarik still showed them on his ethnographic map. Mr. Florinskii, in his recent work, estimates their number at 9,000; but he adds that they have almost entirely forgotten their original language.

S.P. Cr. 167 In recent times, many Croats of Austria-Hungary have emigrated to America; American statistics confound them with the Slovenes and Serbs, for example, for the year 1907 a total of 25,000.

1 A [Cf. E16 Slavic peoples, 11 Niederle, PP. 91-92, Category 11C — Analyst]

000 give, for example, for the year 1905, a total of 35,000.

S.P. 56 167

The number of Serb emigrants is not so large. They settle especially in the cities of North America. There have also been, for the past thirty years, colonists in New Zealand and in the Auckland Islands.

S.P. Cr. 58. 161 162

It is very difficult to determine the boundary between the Serbs and the Croats. In Hungary, as we have already said, it begins at Stara, on the Drava. But the official statistics of Croatia and Slavonia do not distinguish between Serbs and Croats. It is the same in Cisleithania and we do not have the required information. One may, to a certain degree, take advantage of the statistics showing religious adherence and of the new map of Dr. Vasa Ruvarac. But this map gives only the division by districts and besides, as we /163/ have previously mentioned, religion itself is not an absolute indication.

S.P. Cr. 56. 161

S 31. Statistics.---It is very difficult, if not impossible, to give statistics about the Croats and Serbs, either all together, or taken separately. For the Turkish area we have no certain census and we are reduced to the guesses of individual Serbs or Bulgars, who, pursuing the tendencies which statisticians adopt, differ from one another to an unusual degree. (1) For Istria, the seacoast, Dalmatia,

1. In 1889, the Serb S. Gropcevic figured that in Old Serbia and in Macedonia there were 2,048,000 Serbs and 57,600 Bulgars. In 1900, the Bulgar Kancov figured 700 Serbs and 1,180,000 Bulgars.

Bosnia and Hercegovina, we do not have a distinction made between Serbs and Croats. Such distinction is found only in the Hungarian statistics. On the other hand, as will be seen further on, we assign to the Bulgars the population of Macedonia, properly speaking, south of Sofia. The following gives the approximate numbers of Serbs and of Croats in 1900:

Austria	711,382
Croatia and Slavonia	2,101,580
Hungary, approx.	700,000
Rieka (Fiume)	13,929
Bosnia-Hercegovinia (according to	
/164/ the census of 1905), approx.	1,650,000
Montenegro, approx.	350,000

S.P. Cr. 2. 163

the net increase 0.98%.

In the Kingdom of Serbia, the rate, for a period of ten years, was still greater; gross total, 14.8%, net total, 14.2%, otherwise speaking, the birth rate exceeded the death rate by 1.48%. During these latter years, one notes a much more considerable increase but it results from the large number of migrations of persons fleeing from the Turkish territory. The same may be said for Bosnia and Hercegovina, where, as a result of immigration, an abnormal increase was produced at the end of the last century (from 1879 to 1895, 2.15% on an average). Between 1901 and 1904, the increase was only 0.95% per year.

In the north, the Croats and the Serbs are threatened by the Magyars in Hungary and by the Germans in Croatia. The Magyars and the Germans are greatly increasing in number in Croatia. In the space of ten years, from 1880 to 1890, the Serbo-Croats in this province increased by 12.23%, the Germans by 41.3%, the Magyars by 66.1%. In the years 1890 to 1900, the Slavs increased by 8.96%, the Germans by 13.12%, the Magyars by 30.3%. Thus, between 1880 and 1900, the relative number /168/ of Slavs decreased from 90.48% to 87.22%; that of the Germans increased from 4.4% to 5.53%, that of the Magyars from 2.19% to 3.74%.

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This state of affairs is not yet very serious, but nevertheless it gives rise to concern about the future.

S.P. Cr. 2. 167

The Serbs and the Croats should agree to resist with a common front, all the more as their birth rate is weak, weaker in the areas inhabited solely by them than in the areas with mixed population and as they are constantly diminished by emigration. Between 1880 and 1900 this took away from them more than 100,000 souls and in these recent times the Croats have emigrated in rather large numbers into the two sections of America.

S.P. Sb. 795 162

We have already pointed out the decrease in the numbers of Serbs in the area of Novi Pazar and Kosovo. Alongside the Orthodox Serbs there are to be found today in this zone many Albanianized Mohammedan Serbs--notably of the tribes of the Gash and of the Berish, also 6,000 Cherkessians who settled there in the years 1858-1862. In this zone there are no Turks properly speaking.

S.P. [163]

S.P. Cr. Sb. 163

In Serbia the number of births is 44.45 per 1,000; in Croatia, 44.18; in Damatia, 38.39; in Istria 37.43. In Bulgaria the rate is only 36.36. But if we take into consideration only the legal marriages, we ascertain that for every 1,000 women there were 290 births at Gorica, 273 in Istria, 257 in Dalmatia, 215 in Serbia (same figure in Bulgaria). This is a relatively low birth rate, and, in Serbia and Croatia, the lowest in Europe. Thus it seems that the large number of births depends only upon the number of marriages and not upon fecundity.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 165

/171/ According to Vrbanic the death rate is 30.24 per 1,000 in Croatia, 27.79 in Istria, 27.16 at Gorica, 25.67 in Serbia, 24.38 in Dalmatia. (It is only 18.00 in Bulgaria). The death rate is then higher in Serbia than in Bulgaria. In Bulgaria, in fact, far fewer infants died during their first year (8.3% only, 16.3% in Serbia, 15.4% in Dalmatia, 21.2% in Croatia). The rate of increase through births is, then, 1.83% for Bulgaria, 1.87% for Serbia, 1.4% for Dalmatia, 1.39% for Croatia, 0.98% for Gorica, 0.96% for Istria, which gives an average for the southern Slavs of 1.57%.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 162 795

Religion is one of the principal marks which distinguish the Croats from the Serbs: the Croats are Catholics, the Serbs Orthodox and Mohammedans. But this is not an absolute indication. There are Orthodox who consider themselves to be Croats. Thus the latest Croat statistics give 2,075 more Orthodox than the Serbs who were enumerated (616,518 Orthodox against 614,543 Serbs). And there also are numerous Catholics who consider themselves to be Serbs or who are claimed by the Serbs. Such are, for example, the Catholics of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and of the Gulf of Kotor (Cattaro), or the Sokci, the Bunievci and the Krasovani of Hungary.

In the Kingdom of Serbia, Serb means Orthodox. There are 98.7% Orthodox, /172/ 0.40% Catholic, 0.60% Mohammedan. In 1895 there were 548,632 Serbian Mohammedans in Bosnia-Hercegovina (that is 34.9% of the population). But it must be stated that they are decreasing through emigration. Official statistics have, between 1883 and 1905, given 32,625 emigrants of whom 30,434 were Mohammedan. In Bosnia and Hercegovina there were reported 637,246 Orthodox (that is 42.9% of the total population), and 334,142 (21.3%) Catholic. (1)

S.P. Cr. Sb. [167]

1. In Bosnia-Hercegovina the Mohammedans are in the majority at Saraievo and in 12 districts, the Orthodox in 25, the Catholics

1: Niederle--110 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples E16
Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
SP. CX. SA. 177 [illegible] 101

Towards the south, the Kajkavci have penetrated into certain localities in the territory of the Cakavci. Cakavci was spoken on the seacoast at one time, as ancient documents attest. Here is how this change of dialect is explained: at the moment of the Turkish invasions the inhabitants emigrated en masse towards the north and when they returned later on they had learned to speak Kajkavci. Those who speak the purest /176/ Kajkavski live between Zagreb (Agram), Varazdin, and Krizevac.

The territory of the Cakavci today comprises the greater part of the Adriatic islands, some Dalmatian villages, and the Croatian seacoast as far as the Kupa River.

The most extensive dialect is the Stokavski: in the area located between Vidin, Sofia, and Kyustendil, it is changing under the influence of the Bulgar dialects, and in the southwest, between Vranje and Prizren, under the influence of the Macedonian dialects. There is a whole group of types of speech still little studied, which by certain signs are akin to the Serb group, by others to the Bulgar group, which have been the subject of numerous discussions among philologists and among statesmen. This transitional region of the dialect which Belic calls the dialect of Timok and of Prizren, begins at the Danube at the mouth of the Timok, runs up towards the districts of Nis and of Vranje, Krusevac and Prizren; it divides itself into sub-dialects which bear the name of these localities. According to Belic and Resetar, the eastern frontier of this dialect starts at Ulcinj, goes through Prizren, Janjevo, Prokuplje, Stalac, Zaicar, and returns again to the mouth of the Timok on the Danube.

The secondary groups are composed of the Bunjevci, especially the Sokci in the Backa. We know very little about their origins and not very much more about their political character. They are claimed equally by the Croats and the Serbs. /177/ The Bunievci speak the Stokavski dialect. Another colony is settled in the county of Krasso on the upper course of the Karas (about 7,500 persons). The former ethnographers, Czoernig, Schwicker, Hunfalvy, Dobrovsky, Miklosich, and Drinov, took them for Bulgars. L. Miletic proved recently that their language and their origin are equally Serbian, that their language belongs to the Stokavski dialect, but that it is rather different from that of the Serbs of the Banat. Syrku was mistaken when he pretended

S.P. B 175

the period when the seat of the Tsar and of the Patriarch was at Ochrida (1), felt themselves to be even more Bulgarian the further they were removed from the ancient homeland of the nation; they retained this more or less strong sense of solidarity, on the one side against the Serbs whose empire confined them to their region, on the other side against the Osmanli Turks. In 1393 the Turks captured Trnovo; in 1396 after the victory of Nicopolis they achieved the conquest of Bulgaria. The country remained enslaved until the years 1876-1878 when the intervention of Russia gave her back her freedom and independence. The area between the Danube and the Stara Planina (Balkan Mountains) was the first to be freed; in 1885 a peaceful revolution annexed the Bulgarian Rumelia to her, as far as Mount Dospat, to the course of the Arda, the Sakar Planina (Sakar Balkan Mountains) and the Gulf of Burgas. The section of the Bulgars who form a compact group in Macedonia /186/ have vainly been waiting up to the present for their deliverance and for the end of a situation which, despite the efforts of the Powers, still remains a very painful one.

1. Today in Macedonia. Translator.

SP [144]

Such is the political history of the Bulgar people. The development of the nation has furthermore been hindered by perpetual troubles, by disturbances, by the displacements of ethnic groups. When the Greeks again took possession of their ancient domain the Slav colonies of the south had to return north, the Slavs of Greece were completely assimilated during the course of the Middle Ages. But the most serious catastrophe was the Turkish invasion.

S.P. B 175 167

When the Turks penetrated into the peninsula, under the reign of Murad I, they settled in the region of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and of Zagora; in the reign of Bajazet I they settled between Plovdiv and the Balkans and then remained in the basin of the Marica, especially in its lower areas, until the nineteenth century. This would follow from the information furnished in 1819 by Pope Constantine and from the nomenclature of the area which is essentially Turkish (names of villages, fields, streams, woods, pastures, hills, etc.). Of 52 villages of the district of Shirpan only two have non-Turkic names, and only three in the district of Seimen (now Marica). Another center of Turkish colonization was the eastern portion of northern Bulgaria, especially the Dobrudja, which became a desert in the fifteenth /187/ century.

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In this region, before the arrival of the Turks, there were settled a large number of Pecheneg, Uzi, and Cumaeans (whose descendants are today called Gagauz) and later on the Tatars.

It seems that the earliest Turkish colonization took place in the region of Deliorman towards the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries and later on at Tuzluk and at Gerilovo. The Ragusan Pavle Gjordjic, who traveled in these areas, reported a numerous Turkish population at Gerilovo*, at Deliorman, and in the Dobrudja. These areas were not completely assimilated by the Turks until the seventeenth century, and in the case of Gerilovo*, not until the eighteenth century. But many Turkish villages still retain their Slavic names.

All this Turkish colonization in the northeast of Bulgaria evidently had as an object the securing of passageways of the Balkans, especially after the defeats suffered in the war against King Wladyslaw of Poland in 1443.

S.P. 8. 101 167

Of the original Slav population there remain only a few rare traces near Provadiya, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), and Razgrad. Also in the sixteenth century a great number of Turks, Yurvks*, and Koniars* came from Asia to settle in certain parts of Thrace and of Macedonia.

S.P. 8 101 166

The old Slavic Bulgars, after the arrival of the Turks, naturally withdrew into the mountainous regions. In the sixteenth century their boundary was formed by the towns of Devna*, Monastir (now Bitolj), Krivnia*, Ravna*, Nenovo*, /188/ Nevcha*, Kaludjerica, Divdiedovo*, Novo Selo, or, in other words, the line from Varna (now Stalin) to Shumla (now Kolarovgrad). But towards the south the Slav element soon began again to take over and regain the terrian. The Osmanlis perished little by little in the perpetual wars and were not replaced by new colonists. On the other hand, new Bulgars arrived from the northern areas (Lovech, Nikopol), a scene of constant troubles and danger.

S.P. 8. 175 167

It was on the banks of the Danube that the principal wars were fought and the Slavs moved away from there in all directions. Upon this emigration movement which is a very old one, we have no documentation until after the seventeenth century. Thus we know that in the course of the year 1741 Bulgar colonies went to settle in the Banat of Temesvar where their descendants are still established at Vinga, and Benesov*. From 1752 to 1754 a great number of Bulgars

*[i.e. in northeast Bulgaria--Analyst]

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and of Gagauz moved into southern Russia, others in 1787-91; during the wars from 1801 to 1812 a very large number came particularly from Vidin to settle in Bessarabia. This emigration was repeated after the war of 1828-1829. In 1821 there were counted in Bessarabia 1,735 Bulgar families with a total of 38,000 persons; in 1829, 4,400 families arrived or about 270,000 souls. Then came the reaction. During the fifty years of peace which followed, many families returned to their own country despite the miseries which they had to undergo. /189/ In 1833, 900 families came back from Bessarabia. On the other hand, from the Balkan regions many of the Bulgars came down to the plain, especially to Rustchuk, the Dobrudja, the country located between Adrianopol (Edirne--Bulg, Odrin) and Burgas, between Shirpan and Stara Zagora, to the outskirts of Kavkalii (now Topolovgrad), of Kyzil Agach*, of Tambol and, under the peaceful reign of Mahmud II, as far as the ouskirts of Rodosto (now Tekirdag), of Derkos* and of Constantinople.

The war of 1877-78 resulted in new movements whose consequences can still be felt today. At the outset of this campaign the Bulgars fled en masse from Stara Zagora, from Kazanlik, from Gjopsa, from Zlatitsa into the country to the north and did not return to their homes until the Russians advanced to the south. In other areas the Turks and the Cherkess evacuated villages which they had occupied for a very long period; the former emigrated through fear of the Russians; the latter did so later on because they were unable to adjust themselves to the new order of things. Mr. Jirecek, historian of the Bulgars, estimates at 100,000 the number of Turks who emigrated from 1878 to 1884. They were replaced by Bulgars who came from Rumelia or from Macedonia, which the Treaty of Berlin retained under Turkish domination.

SP. B. 167

On the other hand, emigrants came back from Romania, Bessarabia the Taurida, and Asia Minor and settled in the neighborhood of Svishtov, Varna (now Stalin), and Tuzluk*. With the Macedonians /189/ continuing to move in without interruption, Mr. Jirecek offers figures which give an idea of the changes effected in the population. In 1896, among 338 Christian localities in the dioceses of Varna (now Stalin) and Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), 135 since the war had an entirely new population. There remained only rare traces of the previous generation. On the other hand, according to Miletic, the

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previous Bulgar population did not date back further than one hundred and twenty years.

To the west of the Iantra* there are very few old villages and many new ones founded by the immigrants who have come from the areas of Lovech and of Sevlievo. These new populations were distinguished from the old ones by traditions, costume, and especially by dialect. On the other hand, there were many new immigrants to the south of the Balkans in the areas of Burgas, Aitos, and Yambol.

ooo Therefore, the Bulgar country has been the theater of perpetual movements, and definitive order will not be reestablished there until the Macedonian question has been finally resolved. However, the solution of the Macedonian problem is constantly delayed by the neighboring powers.

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S 34. Territory Occupied by the Bulgars. ---It is bounded on the north by the Danube, from Cherna Voda to Vidin and then by a line which runs from Vidin through Tsar-Petrovo, Boinitsa and Shchichintsi, to the Serbian frontier. From this line at Vidin there runs off a narrow section which goes up as far as Novo Selo on the Danube. The western boundary follows the Timok which serves as the political frontier between Serbia and Bulgaria. But the philologists are not in agreement upon the characteristics of the intermediate dialect of the area of Pirot-Vranje. Belic assigns it to Serbian, Tsonev to Bulgarian and considers only as intermediate the dialect of the Morava and the Resava. As we have already explained, in the basin of the Timok, in the area of Pirot, Nish, Vranje and Prizren a dialect intermediate between Serbian and Bulgarian is spoken. But, leaving aside the dialectic shadings which are of no importance from the viewpoint of nationality, and bearing in mind the other factors which determine national consciousness, it cannot be said that the boundary of the Bulgar national group follows the Timok and runs up towards Nich and Vranje, as Tsonev would have it, but that it starts from Veliki Izvor on the Timok, that it follows the ridge of the Stara Planina (Mountains), otherwise known as the political frontier, as far as Mount Kom; then it passes between Pirot and Caribrod (now Dimitrovgrad), crosses the Ruia Planina (Mountains), passes near Vlasina and reaches the upper Morava at Vranje. Then it follows the road from Nich to Skoplje, runs around that city and runs across the eastern spurs of Mount Chardagh towards the Debar (Alb., Dibra).

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Kazanluk, Kharmanli, Khaskovo, Aytos, Pomorie, Karnobat, and Sliven. Detailed figures will be found in the table above.

Along with the Turks the Tatars are likewise diminishing, except in the region of Varna where they are increasing. After them come the Gagauz, Christian descendants of the ancient Turko-Tatar invaders.

The Greeks, as is to be expected, are particularly settled on the shore of the Black Sea, notably in the region of Burgas, and in the interior areas around Ploviv (Philoppopolis), especially in the sector of Stanimaka (Asenougrad)--this town is today Greek--to the west of Kyzyl Agach, at Kavakla and in its neighborhood. Along the coast, the most northern Greek colony is Novo Selo near Varna; among the Greek towns we should also mention Mesembria (now Nesebur), Pomorie, Sozopol, and partly Burgas.

The Jews and the Armenians nowhere form compact groups. The gypsies are numerous, but they are scattered throughout the Kingdom.

In the mountainous regions they sometimes form the majority of the population, for example in the outskirts of Elena and of Plovdiv (Philoppopolis). There are very few Serbs according to the latest information (in all 1,516). This is the result of the intensive /197/ development of the Bulgars and also of the conflicts of the past thirty years. On the contrary, the Rumanians are grouped in compact masses along the Danube, especially between the confluence of the Timok and Vidin, and between the confluence of the Dolni (Cibur) and Svishtov. A majority of Rumanians are also to be found at Tutrakan, and in the interior of the country at Serbenica (now Sofronievo) near Byala Slatina and at Debovo near Nikopol. The Tsintsar (1) are to be found in the outskirts of Sofia and of Plovdiv (Philoppopolis). We have spoken above of the Russian and Czech colonies of Vojvodova*, Gorna*, Metropolis* and Breslianitsi*.

1. Name given to the Rumanians in the peninsula.

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Outside of the region which we have just studied, we still meet groups of Bulgars beyond the Danube. These are the colonies which came in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The

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previous colonies have been absorbed by the Magyar and Rumanian elements. They date from the thirteenth century; they were the Bulgars of Brasso (Brasov now Stalin), of Nagy and of Kis Csegerd* (near Blasendorf), of Baumgart (Bongard) and of Reussdorfchen (Roszczur) in the outskirts of Sibin. They are today completely Rumanianized. In former times they were sometimes considered as being Serbs, sometimes as Slovenes. Their Bulgar nationality was demonstrated by Professor Miletic. They were Catholics. There still are in southern Hungary--/198/--in the Banat--the colonies of Vinga, between Avad and Temesvar (now Timisoara), Brestie near Vrsac and Stary Beshenov near Szegedin. These colonies date from 1747; they are also Catholic. There are also a great number of Bulgar colonies in southern Walachia. Weigand estimates the number at fifty, with a population of fifty thousand persons. They are established around Dolz (12 hamlets), Olenitsa (2), Teleorman (now Rosiorii-de-Vede) (5), Vlaska* (7), Ialomica* (3), Ilfov* (22). The largest are those of Afumatz* and of Kisele Sirbi*. There are in addition many Bulgars in the cities of Galati, Braila, Bucharest, Buzan, Olenitsa, Giurgiu (Bulg., Giurgevo), Craiova and Ploesti, who are estimated to number from five to seven thousand.

In Russia, the Bulgars settled towards the middle of the eighth century. They are mentioned from this period as at Chesma, on the river Visa* and Schinusha*. It was after the year 1769 that the principal immigration took place. Bulgar colonies established themselves alongside Serb colonies on the upper reaches of the Ingul and the Ingulka (1). They have disappeared by this time. On the contrary, compact groups have remained in Bessarabia; they have been strongly mixed with Turkish elements. They are to be found especially in the districts of Akkerman (now Belgorod-Dnestrovski), Izmail, and Bendery. They are to be found also in the gubernıya of Kherson, near Odessa and Nikolayev and in the guberniya /199/ of Tavrida (districts of Berdyansk--(now Osipenko)--and of Feodosiya). The statistics for the year 1897 still counted 172,659 Bulgars: for Bessarabia 103,225, for the gubernıya of Kherson 25,685, for the Tavrida 41,260. In this gubernıya they are being rapidly assimilated. According to Moshkov, the official statistics also included among the Bulgars the Gagauz, whose number is estimated to be 70,000, grouped around Komrat, in the district of Bendery.

1. Tributaries of the Bug and of the Dnepr.

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In Asia Minor, the Bulgar colonies are found principally in the outskirts of Bruss (now Bursa), a portion in a whole group of communes about the little city of Mikhailich (now Karacabey), another portion, around Kodjebunar*, Suiout*, Kobash, Toibelen*, Novo Selo*, Mandra*, Khaladjebair*, and Kilik*. There are also a few communes, occupied especially by shepherds, on the seashore and about Kyzdervent*, not far from Scutari (Skadar). Kantchov* counts here about twenty Bulgarian communes.

In recent times American statistics also attest to the presence of Bulgar immigrants; but they are mixed with the Serbs in such a way that it is difficult to arrive at correct totals. There should be about 50,000. Valjavec estimates them at 4,000, but this total is obviously too low.

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S 37. Statistics.--In view of the fact that the exact number /200/ of Slavs in Turkey proper is not known, it is very difficult to give absolutely exact statistics for the Bulgars. One can only make guesses and, for the balance, refer to the official statistics of the realm which unfortunately are very brief.

At the end of the year 1900 the total strength of the Bulgars should be broken up as follows:

Bulgaria proper (according to the census of 31 December 1900)	2,885,379
Turkish Rumelia, Albania, Constantinople, Asia Minor	600,000
Macedonia (according to Kanchov)	1,200,000
Rumania with the Dobrudja	180,000
Other countries	50,000
Total	4,915,379

In Bulgaria there were, according to the latest statistics, 2,684,735 Bulgars and 20,664 Pomaks; let us not forget that the Bulgarian statistics combine mother tongue and national group. In Rumania, the official statistics do not recognize the native Bulgars; they consider them to be Rumanians and list separately only 7,810 Bulgars as foreign subjects. As we have mentioned above, Weigand estimates the natives at 50,000; Kanchov figures the number of Bulgars in the Dobrudja at 40,000, Ishirkov at 30,000. In Hungary there were

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It was to this district, centering about the city of Czernowitz, that many Polish officials and soldiers withdrew to escape German and Russian pursuit when Poland was invaded in 1939.

The Western Slavic group includes the Poles, the Czechs (or Bohemians) and Moravians, the Slovaks, and two Slavic islands in German territory: the Kashubs, who live on the Baltic coast northwest of Danzig, probably not over two hundred thousand in number, and a considerably smaller number of Sorbs, or Wends, who inhabit Lausitz, or Lusatia, a small area on the upper Spree river northeast of Dresden.

The Southern Slavs are cut off from their northern kindred by the Austrian Germans, the Magyars, and the Romanians, but comprise the Slovenes in the extreme northern part of Yugoslavia; the Serbs and the Croatians, who differ from one another only in slight variations of dialect and by the fact that the Serbs belong to the Greek Orthodox church and use the Cyrillic Script (similar to the Russian), while the Croatians are Catholics and use the Latin alphabet; and the Bulgarians who, though possessing a Slavic national language, represent a complex fusion of racial and linguistic stocks.

In view of the numerous and violent migratory movements which took place in northern Europe both before the Christian era and during the first few centuries after it began, the Slavs are hardly likely to have occupied their present extensive territory during their whole recorded history. On the contrary, their migrations cover a range almost as vast as those of their Germanic neighbors, and the location of their primitive habitat constitutes a problem which has long engaged students of Slavic history and linguistics.

The earliest native tradition dealing with Slavic origins is contained in the so-called Russian *Primary Chronicle*, a compilation completely extant only in two fourteenth-century texts, but which reproduce with considerable accuracy a work composed by a monk of Kiev about the end of the eleventh century. Here we read:

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4 *Slavic Civilization*

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For many years the Slavs lived beside the Danube, where the Hungarian and the Bulgarian lands now lie. From among these Slavs parties scattered throughout the country and were known by appropriate names, according to the places where they settled. Thus some came and settled by the river Morava, and were named Moravians, while others were called Czechs. Among these same Slavs are included the White Croats, the Serbs, and the Carinthians. For when the Vlakhs attacked the Danubian Slavs, and settled among them, the latter came and made their homes by the Vistula, and were then called Lyakhs. Of these Lyakhs some were called Polyanians, some Lutichians, some Mazovians, and still others Pomorians. Certain Slavs also settled on the Dnieper, and were called Polyanians. Still others were called Derevlians, because they lived in the forests. Some also settled between the Pripet and the Dvina, and were known as Dregovichians. Other tribes settled on the Dvina and became known as Polotians, from a small stream named the Polot, which flows into the Dvina. . . . The Slavs also settled around lake Ilmen, and were there known by their own name. They built a city, and called it Novgorod. Still others had their settlements along the Desna, the Sem, and the Sula, and were called Severians. And thus the Slavic race was scattered, and likewise its language was known as Slavic.

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In this passage, apart from the detail expended by the author on particularizing the various Eastern Slavic tribes which had fallen under the sway of Kiev more than two centuries before he wrote, what is most striking is his implication that neither the Western Slavs (Czechs, Moravians, and Poles) nor the Eastern Slavs were, in the annalist's view, indigenous to the areas they occupied in his day. He accepts the tradition that the original home of the Slavs was on the middle Danube, from which region (as he relates) they were displaced at an earlier undefined period by a nation known as the Vlakhs, under whose pressure they sought safer residences to the north and northeast. Now, while the term Vlakh has various meanings,

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it would be most natural here to attach it to the Celtic Gauls who penetrated the Danube basin early in the fourth century B.C. and then, under the leadership of a chief named Brennus, marched down through Thrace and Macedonia and invaded Greece as far as Delphi in 280. The only difficulty lies in the absence of the slightest indication in Greek or Latin historians and geographers that the Slavs, or any part of them, were present on the middle or lower Danube basin before the Christian era. Nor are there in this area any early place names demonstrably Slavic which would show these sources to be faulty in this respect.

In fact, though the evidence of this passage from the Russian annals led numerous medieval and early modern historians in the last century to accept the Danubian origin of the Slavs, other much more reliable and older sources place them further north beyond the Carpathian Mountains when they make their first appearance in history. To be sure, the Slavs do not begin their historical career under this name, but under another which is etymologically related to the English term "Wends" or the German "Wenden," frequently applied to the Slavs in our own day. As the Venedi, Veneti, or Venedae, they are thus mentioned by Pliny the Elder and by Tacitus during the first century, and by the Egyptian astronomer and geographer Claudius Ptolemy, who wrote in Greek toward the end of the second century. Pliny locates them vaguely in the vicinity of the Vistula. Tacitus is equally indefinite, placing them in the unknown country east of the Suebic confederacy, which he knew as Germanic. Ptolemy mentions them as one of the major nations living along the Venedic Gulf, which appears to be his term for the section of the Baltic coast northeast of the Vistula.

The identity of the Venedae of the Baltic with the Slavs is established in the sixth century by Jordanes, the historian of the Goths, who says of them in one passage: "From the source of the Vistula river immense areas are occupied by the populous nation of the Venethae, who, though their appellations may change in various clans and districts, are mainly called

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uity depended upon itinerant merchants and traders following strategic watercourses. Even far to the eastward, when the Goths invaded south Russian territory, they maintained the same commercial relations with the Roman Empire which had been established earlier by German settlements along its frontier further westward. Caches of Roman coins, dating chiefly from the interval between Trajan and Septimius Severus (98-198 A.D.), which have been found in great profusion on the west bank of the middle Dnieper, show a remarkable expansion of trade with the Roman west in this area during the second and third centuries, hence under the Gothic hegemony and prior to the Slavic dispersion. Once the Goths had entered into relations with Byzantium and the Greek cities on the Black Sea, their interest in trade with the western Roman Empire waned, and from that point the Dnieprian Slavs largely received products of the so-called Gothic type from the barbarized Pontic workshops. As long as the Goths lived among the Slavs, they exercised a direct economic influence upon them, but once they had withdrawn to the coast of the Black Sea after the fall of Ermanaric before the Huns in 370, they ceased to be a significant commercial factor. Even when Byzantine trade set in during the fifth century, its volume was so restricted that from this point to the eighth century there is actually an interval in which the economic relations of the Dnieper valley with the rest of the early medieval world were in abeyance.

This interval coincides with the epoch of large-scale Slavic migration and dispersion. Its conclusion is marked in turn by the stabilization of the Slavs on the Elbe, on the Danube, and in the Balkans; by the temporary elimination of nomadic invaders from the steppes, the economic advance of the Carolingian period, the beginnings of the Viking Age in Scandinavia, and the establishment of Arab control over Oriental commerce. The period from 700 to 1000, though also initiating the gradual withdrawal of the Western Slavs from the Elbe frontier under German pressure, also saw the evolution of all the medieval Slavic states and their advance to the level of

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II

The Slavic Migrations

We have seen that there is no evidence that the Slavs or any part of them were present in the middle or lower Danube basin before the Christian era. The Gothic historian Jordanes, writing in 551 A.D., reports that in his day the Slavs were occupying the whole valley of the lower Danube from its junction with the Save river to the sea, and that they extended east as far as the Dniester and north to the Vistula. On the basis of this passage historians have frequently maintained that the Slavs did not reach the Danube valley until the migratory Germanic tribes had evacuated both Germany and Hungary, but that their movement was so rapid that they overran this area as soon as its previous occupants had left it. Since the Byzantine historian Procopius associates the arrival of the Slavs in the Balkans with the accession of the Emperor Justinian in 521, it was easy to conclude that the Slavic movement southward began about this date.

There are, however, grounds to believe that the Slavic march toward and across the Danube was a process of longer duration, and actually began considerably earlier. It may be recalled that those tremendous movements known as the barbarian migrations started in the first century A.D. Numerous Germanic tribes made their way from eastern Germany through the Sudeten

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defiles into Moravia even before the year 200. These shifts of population are explicable by the pressure not only of the Lombards and the Goths, but also of the Slavs, and after the Goths reached the Black Sea during the third century, the Slavs were doubtless the chief impelling factor in such migratory movements. That the Slavic expansion was by no means a brief and spatially limited process is borne out by the fact that in the sixth century we find the Slavs already settled from the Elbe and the Saale in the west to the Don in the east, and from the Baltic in the north to the Adriatic and the Aegean in the south. They were thus occupying an area five times greater than their original home, and during the process of settlement they did not evacuate and abandon their primitive habitat, as so many German tribes (Goths, Lombards, Vandals, Burgundians) are known to have done. This fact alone indicates a slow expansion in all directions rather than a sudden shift of position.

We find in the sources some respectable evidence to support this opinion. In 448, for instance, the Emperor Theodosius II sent an embassy from Constantinople deep into Pannonia (modern Hungary) to buy off Attila and his Huns, who had recently menaced the metropolis. One member of the embassy, named Priscus, has left an account of its long and arduous journey, in the course of which he speaks of meeting in Hungary an hospitable local population whose language was not Hungarian, and who supplied a drink made of honey called *medos*. This form is probably nothing more than a Greek spelling of Old Slavonic *medŭ*, since honey beer is a traditional Slavic drink and Priscus would have written the word with an *i* if he had been talking about Gothic mead. Jordanes also mentions that the funeral of Attila was accompanied by a great feast called a *strava*, which is a well-known medieval Slavic usage, apart from the fact that the word itself is pure Slavic.

Somewhat earlier during the fourth century it is also recorded that the Sarmatians in the Hungarian plain were expelled from there by the subject rural population, who are

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identified soon after as Wends, that is, Slavs. Apart from these rather tenuous historical data, there are also a certain number of place names dating as far back as the second century not only in the western district between the rivers Drave and Save, but also in Hungary north of the Danube, which cannot be etymologized as anything but Slavic. It is therefore probable that some Slavic infiltration into this area began as early as the first century, and it is entirely certain that Slavs were present there between the third and the fifth centuries. We may thus conclude that the Slavs began to drift into the basins of the Danube and the Save at the very opening of the Christian era, appearing at first simply as isolated islands among an alien population. The slowness of this penetration would then explain the relatively isolated character of the early place names which reflect this drift. The Slavs did not therefore hit the Danube Valley in a sudden wave. After the first scattered settlers had arrived, the major movement set in during the third century when all populations north of the Carpathians were in a state of flux, so that by Jordanes's day (551) their occupancy of the Danube basin was an established fact of fairly long standing.

While it is not difficult to date in this fashion the arrival of the Slavs in the Danube basin, there is no evidence that they penetrated the Balkans proper before the year 500, unless we may suppose with some likelihood that isolated Slavic bands accompanied the numerous alien invaders known prior to that date. In any case, there is no question of real Slavic occupation of the Save and the Danube until the sixth century. Early in its course, when the Byzantine frontiers were being harassed by Huns, Bulgars, and Avars, the Slavs were also on the march southward, and they frequently made common cause with these invaders. Their chief center of population at this period was on the middle reaches of the Danube and in modern Walachia, but they attacked on a long front from Dalmatia to the very walls of Constantinople itself. With the Avars, energetic Turko-Tartars of Asiatic origin who had fought their way across the

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167 steppes to the Danube, they threatened the Greek peninsula, 174 where their first occupation dates from 581.

721 Contemporary chroniclers report that the Slavs had by that 167 time acquired wealth by pillage and fought even better than the regular Greek troops. On the Adriatic, they occupied the districts of Illyria, Dalmatia, and Istria early in the seventh century. Shortly afterward the Slavs on the western front (the Czechs and those on the Adriatic seaboard) overthrew the Avar hegemony and became independent, but after the Avars were thus weakened, the Slavs never menaced Constantinople again. Yet by the end of the seventh century the whole interior of the Balkan peninsula, especially Macedonia and its neighborhood, was populated by Slavs. They even took to the sea and reached Crete in 623. At the height of the Avar expansion, the Slavs had already passed through Thessaly, Epirus, and Attica, and reached the Peloponnese in 588. Here their occupation was so formidable that, for the next two centuries, a Byzantine Greek scarcely dared set foot in the southern portion of the peninsula, while in the north the Danube was never again fixed as the frontier of the Byzantine Empire after 601. On the other hand, it is not to be supposed that the Slavs were ever in the majority in Greece proper. Subject Greeks still formed the mass of the population. Were this not the case, it would be difficult to explain the eventual and rather rapid subsequent disappearance of the Slavic element south of Macedonia.

101 Once the Slavs were firmly established in the Balkans, they 177 immediately became exposed to the older cultures they found there. Those on the Adriatic coast and in the western Danube basin felt the impact of Latin civilization transmitted through romanized native populations, through colonial centers, or through the cities of the seaboard. When they settled within the sphere of Greek influence, the dominant cultural pressure was Byzantine. The results of these accidents of location are still discernible in the intellectual orientation of the Balkan Slavs.

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The Slavs were curiously tenacious in retaining their own language, but extremely receptive to manners and techniques transmitted to them through contact with superior cultures. When they were present in a majority, they experienced no difficulty in impressing their language on the indigenous minority, whom they Slavicized rapidly by intermarriage. The Dalmatian coast from Veglia to Ragusa experienced this evolution from the ninth to the last century. On the other hand, remnants of the old Romanized pre-Slavic population, known as Vlakhs, persist in the interior of the peninsula to the present day, especially in southern Macedonia and the Pindus, while the Romanians, in spite of Slavic and Turko-Tartar admixture, are a concentrate of Romanized pre-Slavic native elements. Of the indigenous and un-Romanized population prior to the migrations, the Thracians in the eastern half of the peninsula disappeared altogether, while the Illyrians in the western half survive fractionally as the Albanians. The linguistic differences between Serbian and Bulgarian have sometimes been explained by the existence of an Illyrian substratum in the former, and a Thracian in the latter, since the areas occupied by the new vernaculars correspond roughly to the regions occupied by these two pre-Slavic elements. Of the migrant tribes who preceded the Slavs into the Balkans no trace remains. The Celts had passed from the scene before the Slavs arrived. The Sarmatians, driven into the Balkans from the steppes, were known as early as the fourth century only by scanty place names. A few Germanic islands kept their names until the fifth century. The Huns rapidly dissolved after Attila's death, while the Avars, after the Slavs threw off their yoke, were decimated by their wars with Charlemagne before the year 800, and the remnant was absorbed by the adjacent Slavs.

Though we find in the Balkans an uninterrupted set of Slavic dialects gradually shading into each other, from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, the three basic literary languages (Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, and Bulgarian) are well-differentiated vernaculars. It is not to be supposed, however, that this

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differentiation originated after the dispersion. On the contrary it may be assumed that the germs of dialectal differentiation inherent in the proto-Slavic language even at the epoch of closest ethnic unity evolved into more conspicuous local characteristics as the race gradually spread. It seems probable that the sections of the proto-Slavs whose vernaculars were the precursors of the present South Slavonic languages were geographically placed in their original habitat in an order corresponding to their present locations. The Slovenes are the furthest northwest of the modern South Slavs. It would appear, then, that their proto-Slavic ancestors lived in the southwest corner of the proto-Slavic habitat on the upper Vistula. Similarly, the ancestors of the Serbo-Croatians must have lived in the vicinity of the central Carpathians (there is, in fact, some etymological relationship between the words *Carpathian* and *Croatian*). The proto-Bulgars lived further eastward and seem to have descended the Prut and the Seret rivers toward the lower Danube while the western proto-Slavs came through the Sudeten passes into Bohemia and Moravia.

The forefathers of the Slovenes, after crossing the Danube soon after the beginning of the Christian era, first appear in history after 592, when they attacked the cities of Istria and northern Italy and made war against the Duke of Bavaria in modern Styria. They were dominated by the Avars early in the seventh century, and after the Avars were dispersed fell first under Bavarian and then (788) under Frankish sovereignty. Then as now their settlement was most dense in southern Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, though their zone of occupation contracted appreciably under German pressure as time went on so that the northern Slovenian border was pushed south from the Danube to the Drave.

The Croatians and Serbs make their appearance in the western half of the Balkan peninsula south of the Slovenes somewhat earlier than the historical debut of the latter. They were thus reported along the coast at Salona in 536 and at Durazzo in 548. Their starting point was apparently the Vistula valley,

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though in their migrations they left important remnants in Silesia and the Riesengebirge which made their presence felt in local place names before they were assimilated by other Slavic elements of these areas. On the other hand, materials dealing with the early existence of the Serbo-Croats on the Balkan peninsula are strikingly scanty. Both assume historical importance only in the ninth century, when the Serbs collided with the Bulgars and the Croats with other Slavs and with Franks in the middle Danube basin.

The destiny of the Slavs in modern Bulgaria was subject to influences differing radically from that of their kindred in the western Balkans. The territory which they had occupied in the sixth century was traversed several times during the seventh century by a nation of Turko-Tartar invaders known as the Bulgars, who had come into the Balkans from across the steppe country, but at first retired behind the Danube after each of their incursions southward. About 670, however, when other powerful Turkic elements began to occupy the south Russian prairies and coastline, they were obliged to seek a residence in the Danube delta and south of it. They thus settled down in Moesia, the flat country between the Danube and the chains of mountains further south. During this process, they seem to have arrived without difficulty at an understanding with the Slavic residents, whose local princes became subject to the Bulgar khan. But here, as elsewhere, it was the invaders who were culturally assimilated. The Bulgars abandoned their own idiom for Slavic, and while Bulgars and Slavs were still differentiated in this area during the eighth century, they were viewed as identical in the ninth. It is thus clear that numerically the Slavs in Moesia must have been more numerous than the energetic and warlike Bulgars whose name they adopted. The new Bulgarian state rapidly expanded its influence to include Macedonia even down to Salonika and the Aegean coast.

The Slavic flood which overwhelmed the Greek peninsula in the last twenty years of the sixth century lasted until about

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800, but in the next two hundred years Byzantine authority was gradually reëstablished throughout Hellas proper. By the twelfth century, in fact, there were but scattered Slavic remnants to be found south of Epirus and Thessaly. Though place names still yield abundant traces of this Slavic occupation, historians have long since disproved the famous thesis of Fallmerayer that the race of the ancient Greeks had been annihilated in Europe. As a matter of fact, as soon as Byzantine supremacy was restored, what Slavs there were throughout the countryside became assimilated so fast that they disappeared altogether. In Macedonia, on the other hand, though Greek civilization tended to recover and even to dominate as time progressed, the local Slavs were still numerous enough to preserve their ethnic and linguistic identity. In Hellas, however, the native Greek element was too populous and the Slavic colonists too few to make such a survival possible. Somewhat the same situation prevailed further north in Transylvania and Walachia, where the Slavic settlers eventually faded out under Romanian pressure.

While the problems connected with the migrations and the settlement of the Southern Slavs are relatively simple, if we except the alien influences affecting the Bulgarians and the decline of Slavic domination in Hellas, the destinies of the Western Slavs are, for a variety of reasons, infinitely more complex. At the beginning of the Christian era the whole expanse of northern Europe from the Rhine to the Vistula and from the Baltic, first to the Sudetens and later to the Danube, was occupied by Germanic tribes. From the second to the fifth centuries, certain important Germanic units moved out of the basins of the Elbe, the Oder, and their confluents, so that by the fourth century eastern Germany was almost totally evacuated by its Germanic inhabitants. Though German savants have been traditionally loth to admit that there were any Slavs in this area during the first period of German settlement, there are a number of tribal names which the classical historians for lack of accurate knowledge bulked with the Germans,

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but which justify the hypothesis that there were at least some Slavic elements west of the Vistula in classical premigration times. Hence, the westward Slavic drift very likely began sometime before the Slavs actually appear on the Oder and the Elbe in the fifth century A.D.

Even with the Germanic tribes present, the area was sparsely enough settled, and it is illogical to suppose that this district was totally denuded of human habitation when they left to pursue their destinies elsewhere. Archaeologically, Germanic civilization comes to an abrupt halt in eastern Germany during the fourth century. Furthermore since the proto-Slavs had a chance to adopt the types of Roman provincial pottery, they must have begun to spread toward the Roman outposts before that date. It would, on the other hand, take us too far afield to belabor the point whether or not the Slavs were in German territory before the Germans descended from Scandinavia. We may thus limit ourselves to the admission that there were some Slavic elements in eastern Germany west of the Vistula even when this area was under German occupation before the migrations began, and the Slavs may well have been the *superiores barbari* who, according to Julius Capitolinus, set so many Germanic tribes in motion during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

But even if we thus suppose that the Slavs crossed the Vistula before 150 A.D., their occupation of Germany to the Elbe and the Oder is not historically confirmed until early in the sixth century. In 512 Procopius mentions that the Germanic Heruli, after defeat by the Lombards, made their way north to Denmark "through all the nations of the Sclaveni," and the Elbe and the Saale are elsewhere mentioned at the same period as the frontier between German and Slav. Apprehensive of Slavic penetration west of this line, Charlemagne in 805 fixed the Slavic boundary, the *limes sorabicus*, running roughly northward from Regensburg to the Saale and from the vicinity of Magdeburg northwestward across country to the estuary of the Elbe and the site of modern Hamburg. The border was later continued on a line roughly connecting the sites of Hamburg

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than 1167, and long before that date the process of extermination or assimilation had set in.

In view of the latest developments in modern history, let us pause a moment on the origins of the Czechoslovaks. The primeval habitat of Czechs and Slovaks was located north of the Carpathians between the headwaters of the Oder and the middle Vistula. The Czechs reached Bohemia and Moravia by the upper reaches of the Neisse and Oder and westward through the Sudeten range and between the Gesenke and the Jablunka. The Slovaks, on the other hand, arrived in their present location between the Morava and the Danube by passing the western Carpathians (that is, the Beskids and the High Tatra south of modern Krakow). The western limits of the Czechs were thus the Böhmer Wald and the Erzgebirge, while on the north they enjoyed a good natural frontier in the mountains from the Sudetens to the Carpathians. On the south the Bohemians and Moravians originally extended to the Danube, but were gradually pushed back along the river between Linz and Vienna until the twelfth century, though the Slovaks maintained contact with it at Bratislava (Pressburg). The western Slovak limit is still roughly the river Morava, which joins the Danube about thirty miles east of Vienna.

There is no longer much question but that the Czech and the Slovak languages were originally an identical dialect just as their speakers were primitively one group, but even in modern times there is an appreciable diversity of dialect, culture, and character among various sections of even the Czechs themselves, and the present differentiation of the Slovaks was conditioned and intensified by geographical separation from the Czechs and by the long-standing political dominance of the Magyars since 1029. The intellectual gap between Czech and Slovak is also due to the rapid Czech assimilation of German culture. Finally, at the extreme east end of the state of Czechoslovakia is an area known as Subcarpathian Russia. Its inhabitants speak a Ukrainian (Little Russian) dialect per-

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(first the Cimmerians, then the Scythians and the Sarmatians) succumbed to the Gothic hegemony, which was broken by the Hunnish attack of 370 A.D. The Huns were the precursors of a long series of Turko-Tartar invaders who crossed the steppes in historical times and offered a succession of recurrent barriers to any large-scale and enduring East Slavic migration toward the Black Sea. The Huns were followed in the sixth century by the Avars, who did not remain long in the steppes, but pushed on into the Danube basin where we have already met them as allies and later masters of the Danubian Slavs during the migration period.

While the Avars were sowing destruction along the northern border of the Byzantine empire, a new Turkic power was rising between the Don and the Volga. The immense Turkic agglomeration, which extended in the late sixth century from Mongolia to the Sea of Azov, had divided into two parts, eastern and western. The center of the western section was located on the lower Volga, and its prince or khan was inferior in standing only to the Great Khan of the eastern Turks. To the inhabitants of this western Turkic state, the name Khazars was given by the Armenians, from whom the Byzantines borrowed it.

During the Avar disturbances along the Danube and in the Balkans at the end of the sixth century, the remnants of the Hunnish and Bulgar tribes (both Turko-Tartar) east of the Don had restored some semblance of union and developed for a brief period into an ambitious state. The power of the Avars was concentrated far to the west and exercised only an inefficient control over their eastern marches. One active Bulgarian princeling named Kubrat applied for Byzantine aid in casting off the Avar yoke and apparently received this support at the price of his conversion to Christianity. At his death in 642, Kubrat had come to rule over a broad territory known as Great Old Bulgaria, which extended from the lower Don down to the Kuban district in the northern Caucasus. After the demise of Kubrat, his realm fell a prey to the energetic Turks who were

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destined to develop the Khazar state. The advance of the Khazars inspired a wide dispersion of the Bulgars. One branch recrossed the Don and, continuing northward, eventually settled near the junction of the Volga and the Kama, where they appear in later Russian history. The other section moved westward and, after uniting with their tribal kinsmen who had preceded them into the Balkans, carried their standards to Salonika in 675 before they settled in Moesia and fused with the South Slavs already resident there. But the Khazars remained in the steppe country, and gradually spread out across the prairies until they reached the southern Bug.

From such indications as we have that the Eastern Slavs had penetrated as far east as the Sea of Azov in the sixth century, their contacts with the various waves of mobile Asiatic invaders must have been closer than the scanty data of extant sources record though, in view of the infinitely small number of Turko-Tartar loan words which found their way into the Slavic vocabulary prior to the recorded history of the Slavs, it is evident that this contact was productive of little intellectual influence on the Slavs themselves. In fact, thanks to their association with Iranian and Goth, the Eastern Slavs had attained a degree of civilization at least equal and probably superior to that of the series of Turko-Tartar nomads who traversed southern Russia between the fourth and the seventh centuries.

During this interval, in any case, the steppes between the Don and the Dnieper were the scene of constant shifts of population. Fleeing before the Huns, the Goths had moved back into central Europe. Driven by the Avars, the western Bulgars had pushed forward into the Balkans. The Avars themselves were ultimately demolished by combined Frank, Slav, and Bulgar offensives along the Danube, and the eastern Bulgar units were displaced by the Khazars. The period of Khazar expansion westward was thus an epoch peculiarly favorable for the progress of the Eastern Slavs down the valleys of the Dnieper and the Dniester. Traces of this colonization are preserved in the *Primary Chronicle,* which places the Slavic Uli-

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chians and Tivercians between the Dnieper and the Dniester as late as the ninth century, remarking that their settlements once extended as far as the coast of the Black Sea. These are, however, the same tribes who later took refuge in the eastern Carpathians and are the ancestors of the modern inhabitants of Subcarpathian Russia. In any case, after the elimination of the Avars, the East Slavic process of southward settlement was resumed until it was once more interrupted by the passage of the Magyars across southern Russia after the middle of the ninth century, and by subsequent inroads of the Pechenegs (Patzinaks), another wave of Turko-Tartar nomads, in the tenth century. Hence, among the earliest traditions preserved in the medieval Russian annals is that the South Russian Slavic tribes were ancient Khazar tributaries. In the early ninth century these subject tribes extended up the Dnieper as far as the river Sozh, well north of Kiev, and thus brought the whole initial extent of the subsequent principality of Kiev under Khazar tutelage.

The Khazars were a progressive race capable of rapid intellectual development and avid in the absorption of foreign ideas. Despite close diplomatic relations with Byzantium, they carefully sidestepped all influence toward conversion to Christianity with its political implications. Persecutions of the Jews in Byzantium during the reign of Leo III (717-740) caused a considerable Jewish migration from the Empire to the Khazar cities around the straits of Kerch. Since these Khazar centers (Kerch and Phanagoria, together with Itil, at the mouth of the Volga) were the chief transit points for Asiatic trade with the west, the Jewish settlers found abundant scope for their innate commercial talents, and rapidly came to exert a pronounced intellectual influence which culminated in the eighth century in the conversion of the Khazar ruling classes to Judaism. A remarkable feature of the Khazar polity was its religious tolerance, which guaranteed equal privileges not only to Jew and Moslem, but also to Christian refugees fleeing the rigors of the iconoclastic movement in Byzantium itself.

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known to have kept a garrison at Kiev, it is even probable that the name of that city is of Khazar origin, that is, *küi,* "bank of a river," and *ev,* "settlement," which well accords with the lower part of the city as it still is today.

On the north and the east, the Eastern Slavs were eventually confronted by Finnish tribes. We have relatively little data on the primitive habitat of the Finns, but modern scholarship places it in the extreme eastern section of northern Europe, on the edge of the Ural mountains and even further eastward. They were thus concentrated from earliest times in the basins of the rivers Oka, the Kama, and the middle Volga, and it is from this nucleus that they spread westward to the Finnish Gulf, occupying not only Karelia and modern Finland, but also the southern shore as far as the Gulf of Riga, hence modern Esthonia and much of present-day Latvia. In central Russia their line of settlement extended as far west as modern Moscow, where they were in touch with an original Lithuanian population which has long since disappeared. Indeed, since these Lithuanian elements occupied a line running from the Baltic to the neighborhood of modern Smolensk and Kaluga, the actual contacts of Eastern Slavs and Finns cannot have begun until the Slavs themselves had already crossed the northern Dnieper and advanced toward the head of the Desna, and until the Finns themselves had begun to move westward toward the Baltic. This view is confirmed by the fact that it is only in the extreme north and east of the Russian area that Finnish linguistic influences are perceptible.

While there are some tribes known to Herodotus who may have been Finns, the Finns themselves are first mentioned with certainty by Tacitus, who did not think very highly of them, since he speaks of their remarkable ferocity at once with their sordid poverty, adding that they lived on herbs, dressed in skins, slept on the ground, and defended themselves with bone-tipped arrows. Jordanes, the Gothic historian, knew some identifiably Finnish tribes as subjects of the Goths. Our now familiar source, the Russian *Primary Chronicle,* composed after

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It was necessary to dwell at some length on the contacts of the Eastern Slavs because the area which they inhabit is, after all, fairly remote, and the process by which they came to occupy it is likewise far from the ken of any but the specialist. As the Eastern Slavs branched out into the steppes toward the Black Sea and the Don and northeastward at the expense of Lithuanian and Finnish tribes, the old unity tended to relax in proportion to their dispersion. New centers of population formed at considerable distances from the old foci. The colonizers underwent new influences which varied with their locations. The southeastern settlers experienced Khazar influence, the northern colonies were close to Scandinavia of the Viking age, and the Slavs along the lower Dnieper were within the cultural sphere of Byzantium.

The Arabic geographers who described eastern Europe of the ninth century already noted four centers of Eastern Slavic concentration at that early period: one near Lake Ilmen, another on the Oka River near the city of Ryazan, one at Kiev, and a fourth in Galicia, and more detailed tribal designations among the Eastern Slavs were likewise known to both German and Greek sources of the same period. Finally, the oft-cited Russian *Primary Chronicle* preserves from traditions considerably earlier than the twelfth century not only a list of tribes on Russian soil, but also their locations. These tribes are the Croats, the Polyane, the Volhynians, the Dulebians, the Buzhane, the Dregovichians, the Polotians, the Novgorod Slavs, the Severians, the Krivichians, the Radimichians, the Vyatichians, the Ulichians, and the Tivercians.

The Croats mentioned were a remnant of the tribe of the same name which remained behind in eastern Galicia, Bukovina, and on the Prut and the Dniester rivers after others of their kindred had moved on into the Balkans. The Dulebians, the Volhynians, and the Buzhane (who are connected by their name with the river Bug in Volhynia) inhabited Volhynia in the neighborhood of modern Lutsk. The Derevlians (whose name is connected with Slavic *derevo*, "wood"), occupied the

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vast forests south of the Pripet River, and were, on account of their remote location, culturally backward.

In this respect, they contrast with their eastern neighbors, the Polyane, who lived in the prairie country (their name characterizes them as plain dwellers) on the west bank of the Dnieper north and south of the ancient city of Kiev, which had been a point of settlement since far back into the stone age. It is not unlikely that the metropolis mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy in the second century and the *Danparstathir* of Gothic tradition and the Norse *Hervdrarsaga* were settlements on the site of modern Kiev. Situated on a strategic trade route, the Polyane were exposed to the stimulating influences of both Scandinavian and Byzantine culture as the power of the Khazars waned. It is thus by no means accidental that their chief center became the nucleus toward which adjacent tribes gravitated and that center from which foreign culture radiated throughout the entire period before it was sacked by the Tartars in 1240.

The Ulichians and the Tivercians, the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Subcarpathian Russia, present a more complicated problem. According to the *Primary Chronicle*, they lived on the southern Bug and the Dniester, extending down to the Black Sea coast and as far as the Danube. They are without question the Eastern Slavic tribes which progressed the farthest toward the sea but, because of that same fact, they also occupied a position critically exposed to repeated nomad attacks. They can therefore hardly have moved south until after the departure of the Avars in the sixth century, and they were seriously menaced again by the incursion of the Magyars in the ninth century. We know from Arabic sources that the Magyars even enslaved much of the Slavic population in this area. Then, in the early tenth century, nomad incursions so increased in intensity and frequency that peaceful habitation in the coastal area eventually became impossible. The Ulichians and the Tivercians thus withdrew to the Carpathians and provided an important center of Slavic settlement in Tran-

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sylvania and northern Hungary. This settlement did not take place, however, until after the tenth century, so that the Subcarpathian Russians actually did not come to occupy their present seats until some five hundred years after the dispersion of the proto-Slavs. There are, indeed, numerous place names even in the interior of Hungary which, by their Slavic origin, bear witness to the movement of these tribes.

The easternmost of the East Slavic tribes on Russian soil were the Severians. Though placed by the *Primary Chronicle* on the Desna and its eastern tributaries, they seem to have constituted the Slavic element which pushed as far east as the Don river in the sixth century and are even located by ninth-century Arab geographers on the lower Volga and in the northern Caucasus. But, like the Ulichians and the Tivercians, they too were exposed to Turko-Tartar impacts which drove them back to the region between modern Kursk, in the north-central Ukraine, and the left bank of the Dnieper. Their chief cities were Chernigov, on the Desna, and Pereslavl, southeast of Kiev on the left bank of the Dnieper.

North of the Derevlians, between the Pripet and the Dvina and as far east as the Berezina, lived the Dregovichians. Their area of occupation corresponds fairly closely to the modern White-Russian (Byelorussian) district, and thus would border on the zone of Lithuanian occupation. In fact, they are the Slavic group responsible for the contraction of this zone, since they pushed the Lithuanians back toward the Baltic coast and settled the basins of the Dvina and the Niemen rivers. Their chief cities were Turov, on the Pripet, and Pinsk, east of modern Brest-Litovsk. While their tribal appellation has been quite naturally connected with a word for marsh, it is, because of its termination *-ich,* more likely a patronymic.

To the east of the Berezina and straddling the Dnieper, the Radimichians were an unimportant and backward tribe which fell comparatively early under the sway of Kiev. Further east, even as far as the Oka River and modern Moscow, and thus on the edge of the eastern Finns, lived the Vyatichians, who were

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early colonizers in territory originally Finnish. The same observation applies to the Slovenes or Novgorod Slavs about Lake Ilmen, who thus approach the region of the great lakes. Just why they alone preserved the ethnic name of the Slavs remains an enigma. At any rate, they were, with the Polyane of Kiev, the most progressive of the Eastern Slavs. Located in an area ill-fitted for agriculture, they lived by hunting and trapping, by which they acquired material for barter with Scandinavian traders. Their pioneering spirit gradually carried them still further north toward Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and since only a short portage separated them from the upper Volga, we eventually find them pushing southeastward to insure a food supply from the grain fields of the Moscow district. They founded the city of Novgorod where the Volkhov flows out of Lake Ilmen, and economic and political collisions between this city and Moscow were a familiar feature of later medieval Russian history until the Muscovites emerged as victors.

Just south of the Slovenes lived the Krivichians, who dominated the headwaters of the Dvina, Dnieper, and Volga rivers and extended northwest until they collided with the Balts and Finns in the neighborhood of modern Pskov. Their chief centers, both of which owed their importance to river traffic, were Polotzk on the Dvina and Smolensk on the upper Dnieper. Since Smolensk is situated at an easy portage point between the Dvina, Lovat, and Dnieper rivers, it was one of the earliest points of Scandinavian settlement in the interior of Russia.

It stands to reason that, at the dawn of Russian history, these tribes must have in many instances progressed far beyond any patriarchal organization on the basis of kinship. Essentially an agricultural people, yet living also by hunting and trapping in newly colonized and sparsely settled areas, the Russian Slavs tended to develop beyond a purely patriarchal society as soon as they came to inhabit small farms grouped about a fortified village which served as a focal point for defense and as a rudimentary market for the exchange of their products. Such of these villages as were located on the chief watercourses developed

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just as much to the building up of Bohemia as did the Czechs. Apart from the early conflicts by which Bohemia became a German vassal, the colonists were brought into the country voluntarily by Bohemian princes and barons, and they could therefore hardly be regarded in our own time as an inferior element with restricted rights in an area to whose economic and cultural development they had been generously contributing for seven hundred years.

It is fair to observe, however, that internal conflict between Czech and German broke out at the time of the Hussite Wars of the fifteenth century. The radical Hussites bitterly attacked the German population, which was in the main composed of faithful Catholics, and even wiped out the entire German citizenry of numerous cities and towns, while such German residents who compounded with the Hussite extremists were subjected to a violent campaign of Czechization. The results of this epoch of conflict were catastrophic. Most of what the German element jointly with the Bohemian had built up in three centuries of faithful effort was destroyed in less than half a century during which the Czechs split with the Germans on account of their loyal Catholicism. The weakness of the Hussite movement was that, while doubtless promoting a healthy national spirit, it broke down the traditional contacts which in previous centuries had contributed appreciably to the advance of culture and to the international prestige of the nation. The succession to the Bohemian crown first passed to the house of Austria in 1437, and Bohemia subsequently remained under the sovereignty of the Hapsburgs uninterruptedly from 1526 to 1918. During this period of nearly three hundred years there was obviously little doubt of the dominance of German influence.

Before turning to early German relations with the rising Polish state, let us follow the fortunes of the Slavs who emigrated westward to the basin of the Elbe. While the burden of German colonization on the Danube front was carried by the Bavarians with some aid from the Franconians, the same

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function was performed in north central Germany by the Saxons. The first thrust of Slavic westward pressure had been felt in the fifth century by the Thuringians, whom the Slavs drove westward into the Thuringian forest and the Harz Mountains. As soon as the Thuringians were subjected by the Franks, the age of Slavo-German conflict set in, and hostilities were intermittent in eastern Franconia during the seventh century. Then, in the eighth century, the establishment of numerous monastery-fortresses on the frontier between the Danube and the Weser heralded an aggressive German offensive which developed as soon as the Franks in 804 had conquered the great tribal duchy of Saxony in lower Germany between the Elbe and the Rhine. The German *Drang nach Osten* which resulted in the dispossession and practical extermination of the Slavs on north-German soil thus began in Charlemagne's day, and continued for nearly four hundred years. Charlemagne opened the contest in 789 by attacking the Wilzi, a federation of Slavic tribes residing east of the Elbe in the vicinity of modern Berlin, and their spirited resistance induced him to give his eastern frontier a solid military organization. New fortresses were built on the lower Elbe to protect Saxony from Slavic invasion. Under Louis the Pious, Hamburg and Würzburg became advance posts of German missionary activity, but the last half of the ninth century witnessed almost constant warfare along the Slavo-German frontier from Hamburg to Bohemia, and these border clashes were a fruitful source of slave labor for the vast properties of the new German monasteries of the eastern front.

In 919, with the election of Duke Henry of Saxony as King of the Germans and successor to Conrad I, the last of the Carolingians, the period of large-scale Saxon aggression against the north German Slavs began. The first Saxon conquest recovered the area between the Saale and the upper Elbe, roughly between modern Halle and Meissen. Then, in the winter of 928-929, Henry pushed across the Elbe and captured Branibor, the stronghold of the Slavs on the Havel west of

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Berlin, transforming it into a fortress which is the ancestor of modern Brandenburg. A Slavic coalition inspired by this offensive was defeated in 929 near Wittenberg, and the Saxon sphere of influence was thus extended to the Oder river. While Henry I showed little interest in colonizing the area he had won, and was solely concerned with collecting tribute, a movement of colonization was first reflected by a large number of fortified German settlements established east of the lower Elbe under Henry's successor Otto I, and a similar practice prevailed further south in the reconquered territory between the Saale and the upper Elbe. The German treatment of their Slavic subjects was far from gentle: captives taken in war were ruthlessly butchered, and chieftains invited as guests were treacherously slain. As a result, a Slavic revolt of 983 threw the Saxons out of Brandenburg. For a hundred and fifty years the Slavic coastal area from Lübeck to the Oder was thus free of Saxon encroachment, and it was not until after 1125 that the linguistic frontier in this region advanced beyond where it had stood in Charlemagne's day.

With the election of Duke Lothar of Saxony as King of the Germans in 1125, the situation altered. Even before his accession to the throne, Lothar had been known to the Slavs as a dangerous adversary, and no such drastically anti-Slavic policy as his had been seen since Henry the Fowler two hundred years before. His collaboration with the Danes broke up the Slavic principalities on the Baltic shore east of Holstein, and after Lothar's death in 1137 the coastline between Kiel and Rostock was soon in German hands. Wholesale colonization by Westphalian and other Low-German settlers immediately ensued under reasonably peaceful conditions, which unfortunately were interrupted by a fanatical crusade against the Slavs in 1147, in the vicissitudes of which most of the newly won territory was cruelly devastated. The result was thirty years of conflict in which the last independent group of Baltic Slavs was obliterated. Meanwhile Brandenburg had come back under German control when its Slavic chief died intestate

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in 1150 and willed his holdings to the neighboring German margrave. German influence was thus restored in this area to the Oder frontier which it had temporarily reached two hundred years before.

Albert von Ballenstedt, called "the Bear," Margrave of the Nordmark, into whose hands Brandenburg fell by legacy, is the most sympathetic figure of the German colonization period. He refused to participate in the Wendish crusade of 1147, and thus won the confidence of his Slavic subjects. Brandenburg was free from the trivial and exasperating obligations that weighed upon the peasantry of the older settled regions. There were no traditional rights and no antiquated feudal interests, with the result that as population increased in the west, pioneer colonization toward the east was intensified. The analogy is frequently drawn between this medieval German colonization of the eastern marches and the American migration west of the Alleghenies at the beginning of the nineteenth century. As one French historian wrote in 1875, "the German emigrant in the Middle Ages went beyond the Elbe in order to find free land as today he is crossing the Atlantic." Albert himself died in 1170, but well into the thirteenth century, under his successors, this colonization moved on toward the Polish borderland, and Frankfurt on the Oder was founded in 1253.

As a matter of fact, German contacts with Poland date back to the latter part of the reign of Otto I, who occupied the German throne from 936 to 973. Under Otto I the German margrave subjugated the Slavs of Lusatia, and extended his sway into Lower Silesia as far as the Bober river, but when one of his successors somewhat later endeavored to extend German influence east of the Oder into Polish territory, he was thrown back in 979. As it was mentioned in dealing with the conversions of the various Slavic nations, Prince Mieszko I of Poland had abandoned paganism in 966 upon his marriage to Dubravka, sister of the Bohemian prince Boleslav I, and three years later founded the bishopric of Posen, which

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Chapter Three

THE TRIUMPH OF THE NATIONALITIES, OR SLAVISM WITHOUT RUSSIA

THE 1914–1918 War has often been regarded as a settling of accounts between Slavs and Teutons. And it was certainly the Germans who did the most to popularise this over-simplified viewpoint. At the time of the Balkan crisis, Bethmann-Hollweg, the Chancellor of the Reich, reduced the possibility of a European war to a struggle between Teutonism and Slavism: *Ein Kampf zwischen Germanentum und Slawentum.* For his part, General von Moltke wrote, on February 12, 1913: 'Sooner or later will come the war between Germanism and Slavism, for which all the standard-bearers of Germanic culture and spirit must prepare'.

At the time when it was formulated, this prophecy might have been found surprising. Indeed, in the course of the ages, Teutonism had secured solid positions against the Slavs, whom, in nine centuries, it had pushed back from the Elbe to the Vistula. It had colonised, plundered, or subdued their western tribes. It penetrated into Russia by two means—the Baltic nobility, and dynastic marriages. Eleven Tsars or Tsarinas since Peter the Great were either of German blood or under German matrimonial influence. This fact alone will give an idea of the fatality which, since the eighteenth century, weighed upon the destiny of Russia. In face of this infiltration, we think of the terrible phrase addressed by Skobelev to a delegation of Serbian students in Paris: 'In our own country, we are not at home'. In short, history presented itself to the Teutons as an uninterrupted process of absorption of their eastern neighbours, or of domination over their politics.

Moreover, von Moltke's prophecy implied a Slav solidarity which was then in the realm of conjecture. History offered no recent example of it. In 1848, the Slavs had nearly all fought for a cause which was foreign to, even if not opposed to, Slavism. In 1885, and again in 1913, the Serbs and the Bulgars had cut each others' throats. And twelve months later, in 1914,

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the Slavs were to split up between the two camps into which Europe would be divided. So that, except in congresses, where ethnography and philology were discussed, this solidarity remained a myth. Russian egoism bore heavily upon the little 'Pravoslav' countries, in which the Tsarist policy affected to take an interest. Much more than that; certain territories, caught between two Slavonic currents—such as Macedonia, the Ukrainian Marches, the Teschen district of Silesia—kept alive the spirit of dissidence within the Slavonic family.

What remained of von Moltke's declarations was the obsession of an inevitable reckoning between the two races. Germany, who, from age to age, had extended her sphere of domination at the expense of the Slavs, dimly felt that, one fine day, the latter would grow tired of the role of 'fertilisers' (*Düngervolk*) to which the Pan-Germanic school condemned them. In Merovingian times, a slow but continuous migration, by easy stages, peopled the Eastern Teutonic states with Slavs. These tribes had reached the Elbe and the Oder by the fourth century. To designate the Teutonic peoples, they forged the collective appellation, *Niemtse,* which has remained in the modern vocabulary of the Slavonic peoples, and signifies 'dumb ones', *i.e.,* speaking a language unintelligible to Slavs. But, little by little, the ebb of the Teutonic tribes pushed them back. With the exception of a few descendants of the Pomeranians (the Kachoubes and the Slovinces) and of the Sorabes (Lusatians), the vast group of Western Slavs of the Elbe and the Baltic disappeared in the struggle waged against them by the Germans in the four centuries from the time of Charlemagne to the twelfth century.

This withdrawal is explained by the state of dissension—a hereditary defect with the Slavs—in which these populations lived. An Austrian historian of this century, J. Peisker,[1] was so struck by such a large-scale backward drive, that he sought a different explanation for it. The past, he said, shows such a succession of conquests, and establishments of Teutonism in Slavonic territory, that we cannot attribute it to the fortune of war. We are obliged to suppose the existence of some factor which paralysed the resistance of the Slavs. This factor must

[1] *Die Älteren Beziehungen der Slawen zu Turkotataren und Germanien.* Berlin, 1905.

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be sought in the most remote centuries, in the contact of the Slavs with the Turanian peoples of the Steppes, who were the foundation of the so-called 'Scythic' Iranian population. From time immemorial, the Turko-tartar peoples, by their pillaging raids, have borne heavily on the Iranians, their immediate neighbours, and, through them, on the Slavonic peoples. The Iranians have been the victims of the Turkomans of the salt Steppes—and the Slavs, by repercussion, have shared their fate. Having thus exhausted their political and social strength, they have become the chronic prey of the conquerors.

This thesis of an original curse, whatever its scientific value, should be borne in mind, for it justifies a conviction that is widespread among the Germans, *viz.*, the inferiority of the Slavonic race, and its presumed incapacity to develop from the notion of a clan to that of a State. There have been published anthologies of German thinkers and propagandists on this theme, which is summed up in the well-known witticism *Gute Nacht, Russen, nach Asien!*—which the Germans have invoked, even down to our own times, to justify considering Eastern Europe merely as a contemptible suburb of Teutonism.

Such is the background of history on which was projected the 'reckoning' on which Bethmann-Hollweg and von Moltke had banked. Must we, however, go so far as to say that the War of 1914 was a Teuto-Slavonic war? M. Benes considers this thesis as attractive as it is untenable. He regards this war as a struggle between two political and philosophical conceptions, the logical development of the European evolution which, beginning at the Renaissance, culminated in the triumph of political individualism, of parliamentary and constitutional law. The war, he says, was not Teuto-Slavonic in character, nor in aims, nor in results.

Limited to the strict sequence of facts, this judgement is admissible. While Austria-Hungary threw herself into the war to prevent a rupture of her interior balance to the advantage of the Slavs, deeper and more decisive causes armed the Great Powers one against the other.

If, however, we consider the atmosphere that reigned in Europe in 1914, when the war found so many inflammable substances in a state of suspense, M. Benes's point of view seems more contestable. The interests of the Slavs were neither

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186* 668 had been foiled by the signing of the Soviet-Czech Pact. The message ended with an exhortation to 'unmask the Hitlerian agitators and the political adventurers of the reactionary cliques of exiles who are seeking to disturb the unity of the Slavs'. The Congress, presided over by Seton Watson, was also addressed by Rumanian, Austrian, and Hungarian democrats. It heard speeches by Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, and Poles, and in its turn sent a message of 'fraternity' to the Slav combatants and partisans, especially the Carpatho-Ukraines. We may notice that this term, formerly considered as subversive, had been substituted, on the initiative of the Czech circles in London, for the official designation 'Sub-Carpatho Russia'.

• [67] But it was perhaps in America, with its fifteen to sixteen million citizens of Slavonic origin, that Panslav demonstrations attracted most attention. On March 27, 1942, a conference of forty delegates met in New York to prepare the Detroit Slavonic Congress. It was decided to give energetic support to Roosevelt's anti-Hitler policy. The appeal to Slav solidarity has always played its role in American political struggles; when Antoine Cermak, a Czech recently arrived in America, was elected Mayor of Chicago he secured the votes of tens of thousands of naturalised emigrants; many election meetings opened to the strains of the Panslav hymn, *Ei Sloveni!* On the occasion of the Detroit Congress, April 25 and 26, 1942, were declared 'American Slav Days' by the Governor of the State of Michigan. Two thousand delegates—Russians, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, and numerous representatives of the American Trade Union organisations—took part in this Congress, presided over by Mr. Blair Gunther. They resolved to help the military and 'underground' operations by spying out the movements of the 'fifth column'. 'Our relatives, our fatherlands have been plundered, ruined, destroyed. We do not wish America to suffer the same fate, and we are going to avenge our fatherlands'.

At the pro-Soviet meeting in Philadelphia, Jan Mazaryk, Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed more than fifteen thousand people. In Chicago in July, 1942, thousands of Americans of Slavonic descent celebrated the 532nd anniversary of the defeat of the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg; they heard a message from President Roosevelt read to them, concluding as follows: 'We will crush the tyrant, we will purge your fathers'